America's first 'Katrina'

Colonial records allow researchers to study hurricane

By LARRY McSHANE
Associated Press

New York — The winds whipped up to 130 mph, snapping pine trees like pick-up sticks and blowing houses into oblivion. A surge of water, 21 feet high at its crest, engulfed victims as they desperately scurried for higher ground.

The merciless storm, pounding the coast for hours with torrential sheets of rain, was like nothing ever seen before. One observer predicted the damage would linger for decades.

This wasn't New Orleans in August 2005. This was New England in August 1635, battered by what was later dubbed "The Great Colonial Hurricane," the first major storm suffered by colonial North American settlers, just 14 years after the initial Thanksgiving celebration in Plymouth Colony.

The Puritans, after landing at Plymouth Rock, endured disease, brutal winters and battles with the natives. But their biggest test roared up the coast from the south, an unprecedented and terrifying tempest that convinced rattled residents the apocalypse was imminent.

And why not? The transplanted Europeans knew almost nothing of hurricanes, an entirely foreign phenomenon. Their fears of approaching death were reinforced when a lunar eclipse followed the natural disaster.

Once the weather cleared and the sun rose again, the few thousand residents of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies were left to rebuild and recover from a hurricane as powerful as 1938's killer Long Island Express. The 20th century hurricane killed 700 people, including 600 in New England, and left 63,000 homeless.

"The settlers easily could have packed up and gone home," said Nicholas K. Coch, a professor of geology at Queens College and one of the nation's foremost hurricane experts. "It was an extraordinary event, a major hurricane, and nearly knocked out British culture in America."

Hurricane reconstructed

Last year, Coch used information that he collected from detailed colonial journals to reconstruct the great hurricane. The 371-year-old data was brought to Brian Jarvinen at the National Hurricane Center, where it was interpreted using the SLOSH (Sea, Lake and Overland Surges from Hurricanes) computer model.

The result: The hurricane likely tracked farther west than was thought, passing over uninhabited easternmost Long Island before moving north into New England. Once clear of the colonies, it veered off into the Atlantic.

Previously, researchers had believed the hurricane missed Long Island, which always annoyed Coch.

"We started out doing this as a lark, and it turned out to be a very interesting piece of science," said Coch. "This information can be applied to any hurricane in the north. I think that's neat."

Coch said the pioneers from across the Atlantic likely endured a Category 3 hurricane, moving faster than 30 mph, with maximum winds of 130 mph and a very high storm surge — 21 feet at Buzzards Bay and 14 feet at Providence. Reports at the time said 17 American Indians were drowned, while others scaled trees to find refuge.

The storm was moving about three times as fast as the typical southern hurricane, and it arrived in full bluster. Although it struck nearly four centuries ago, very specific details about the first recorded hurricane in North America were provided by the local leaders' writings.

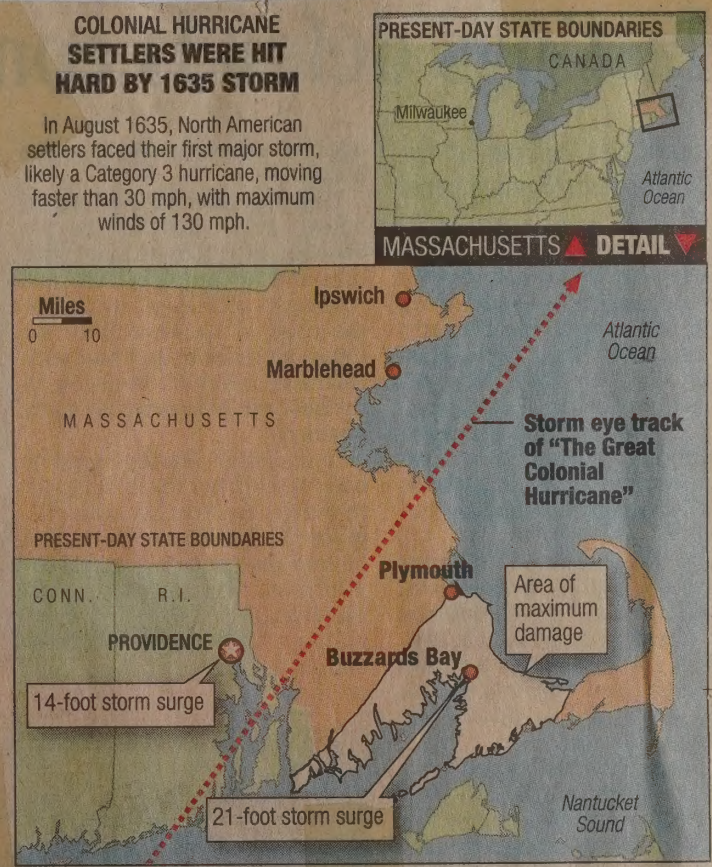
"The documentation was better than any hurricane until the mid-1800s," said Coch. "That's a story in itself."

Violent winds

John Winthrop, head of the Massachusetts Bay group, recalled in his Aug. 16, 1635, entry that the winds were kicking up a full week before the hurricane.

COLONIAL HURRICANE
SETTLERS WERE HIT HARD BY 1635 STORM

In August 1635, North American settlers faced their first major storm, likely a Category 3 hurricane, moving faster than 30 mph, with maximum winds of 130 mph.



Sources: Queens College; National Hurricane Center
Associated Press

Once it did arrive, the hurricane "blew with such violence, with abundance of rain, that it blew down many hundreds of trees, overthrew some houses, and drove the ships from their anchors," Winthrop wrote. He detailed the deaths of eight American Indians sucked under the rising water while "flying from their wigwams."

William Bradford, the leader of the Plymouth group, offered a similarly florid recounting.

"Such a mighty storm of wind and rain as none living in these parts, either English or Indian, ever saw," he wrote. "It blew down sundry houses and uncovered others. . . . It blew down many hundred thousands of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots and breaking the higher pine trees off in the middle."

The local crops, along with the forests and many local structures like the Aptucxet trading house on the southwest side of Cape Cod, suffered major damage. Bradford, in his account, predicted signs of the damage would endure into the next century.

So brutal was the storm that 50 years later, Increase Mather wrote simply, "I have not heard of any storm more dismal than the great hurricane which was in August 1635." His father, the Rev. Richard Mather, was aboard one of the ships nearly sunk at sea by the ferocious weather — but he survived, along with about 100 other passengers.

Others were less fortunate.

-over-

The Rev. Anthony Thacher, his cousin and their two families were headed by boat on a short swing from Ipswich to Marblehead. The fast-moving storm smashed their craft on the rocks, dooming all aboard except for the preacher and his wife, who somehow survived the storm as 21 others perished.

"Before daylight, it pleased God to send so mighty a storm as the like was never felt in New England since the English came there nor in the memories of any of the Indians," Thacher wrote in a letter home to his brother.

Thacher's Island and Avery's Rock — named for his late cousin Joseph Avery — remain as geographic reminders of the storm and its toll.

Coch said the most interesting news about the hurricane, more than 350 years later, is that storms can often follow the same track. And just a minuscule shift of the storm's movement in the area of North Carolina — "a fraction of a degree" — could send a hurricane up through Providence and right into Boston, the professor said.

"We could have a catastrophic situation with national repercussions," Coch said. "If the track of a future (hurricane) moves 25 miles to the west of the 'Colonial Hurricane,' the dangerous right side could pass right over Boston and Providence. That's why we study old hurricanes in the Northeast."

This needs more study — esp. last part.
Pawtuxet Co was created from Cumberland & Chepachet.
This Jane Vest is too late to be ours, but was name Mosby & Littlebury Cox mentioned + etc —
Many Cumberland names here

These are too late to be our ancestors but probably related

1765 +

CHESTERFIELD COUNTY, VIRGINIA

WILLS

1774-1802

Abstracted & Compiled

By

Benjamin B. Weisiger III

Copied by Billie & Allan

p.16 Will of William Vaden of Dale Parish
To sons Gardner, Daniel, and John and daughter Phebe Mann, 1 shilling each
To son George, 4 negroes and land & plantation I live on, 112 acres, and rest of estate at wife's death
I leave to wife Frances, 3 negroes and rest of estate for life
To daughter Elizabeth Moore, 1 negro
To daughter Frances Lofties, 1 negro
Executor: son George
Dated 17 March 1770
Wit: William Smith, John Archer, Josiah Eanes

1765 p.17 Will of John Vest 15 June 1765
To son John, land in Chesterfield next to Parsimmon Run, my son Valentine, the Fork of Tinsbery, Randolph's line and Rocky Run, but wife Ann to have use of plantation for widowhood and also 1 negro and items
To daughter Elizabeth Vest, items
To son James, land along Tinsbury to Cheatham's line and next to my son Valentine
To sons Philip and William Tunwell Vest, a tract at Rocky Run, Randolph's line and Persimmon Run
To daughter Elizabeth Vest and son George Vest, a tract next to my son John's line, joining branch next to Daniel Nuncleis, equally divided
Executors: sons John and James
Wit: Archibald McRoberts and James Featherston

p.20 Inventory of David Trabue, value not totaled
by Charles Smith, William Martin & George Sowell

p.118 Inventory of Josian Les[illegible] Jan. 1777 Value not totaled by Thomas Cheatham, Stephen Russell and John Baugh

p.120 Inventory of Richard Elam Dec. 1769 by Sarah Elam, Exec.

p.121 Accounts of Estate of Richard Elam with Sarah Elam 1770-1772, recorded Aug. 1777

p.122 Will of John Mingge
To son John, items
Rest to wife Mary for life, and then to my surviving heirs
Dated 27 May 1777
Wit: Thos. Batte, James Akin

p.123 Will of James Miles
To son John, a bay filly
To daughter Sarah Pilkinton, feather bed, etc.
To wife Martha, for widowhood, rest of estate; but if she marry, estate to be sold and money divided between her and my son John ann two daughters Elizabeth and Martha
Executors: friends Thomas Cheatham and Henry Mills
Dated 5 Feb. 1777
Wit: Geo. Markham, William Cheatham

1776 p.124 Will of Valentine Vest of Manchester Parish 1776
Executor: sister Elizabeth Vest and to her 5 barrels of corn at Geo. Vaden's, 5 barrels corn at John Vaden's, 5 bushels corn at John Shutsbeary's and 4½ bushels wheat at George West's, also £ 3 cash, also 5 barrels corn and £ 1/12 at James West's; 40 shillings at John Patterson's and vialend at Claibon Puckett' The accounts left with John Graves, my cloaths with John Graves
Dated 14 Feb. 1776
Wit: Thos. Belcher, Nath'l Puckett, Mark Puckett

on microfiche no. Chesterfield Co. Va.

[illegible]st divid
Executors:
Dated 9 Au
Wit: Joel

p.128 Wil
Estate to
To son Wil
To grandau
To son Thor
To daughte
All rest r
between my
If Thomas
and grandau
Executors:
Dr. Williar
Wit: Willi
John

p.13 Wil
To 2 sons
being lanc
dated 28
To wife Sa
Sasseen,
shares at
Executors
Dated 5 N
Wit: Chas.

James Vest who dce 1794 in Chesterfield cannot be our James Vest of Cumberland. Pocketbook says formed 1777 from Cumberland & Chesterfield. So this must be in (West 3)(CFD).

The uncle Philip Vest (mentioned Rene Chastain's baptism) guardian of young orphan James Vest Jr.'s in July 1795 cannot be the Philip Vest who was in Bedford (Campbell) in 1767.

There is mention of Coxes & Mosebys (Mosbys?) brother-in-law is Littleberry Vest. There were also Chastaines in Cumberland.

There are many common threads = must be related somehow.

Dorothy his wife, Thomas Jones and Elizabeth his wife, and Thomas Stratton, an infant of tender years by Henry Stratton his father and next friend.
VS
Margaret Baugh, Adm'x. of Richard Baugh, dec'd.
Partition of estate made by court order of Nov. 1793

p.40 Stewart Jackson and Elizabeth his wife, Samuel Perry, John Perry, Rebecca Perry, Peter Perry and William Perry (the said Rebecca , Peter and William Perry by Patience Perry their guardian and next friend) which said Elizabeth, Samuel, John, Rebecca , Peter and William are children and representa of John Perry, dec'd,
VS
James Perry, Adm'r. of John Perry, dec'd, and also son of said dec'd.
Partition of estate returned according to order of Nov. 1793

p.42 ArchibaldBaugh and Sarah his wife
vs
Elizabeth Worsham, widow and Adm'x. of Edward Worsham, decd. John Worsham and Michael Worsham. Partition made as ordered court of August. 1794

(Pages 43 through 49 are missing)

p.53 Will of William Newby proved by James Railey, Robert Farguson, and Allen Whitworth, witnesses. Elijah Newby and Elisha Newby, Executors, took oath.

p.53 Will of Isaiah Jackson further proved by Alexander Mar:

p.55 Will of Jeremiah Lester further proved by Isham Cheath:

Richard Moseley Jr

p.55 Will of James Vest proved by Joseph Moseley and Richar Moseley, witnesses.

p.56 Will of John Totty presented by Daniel Boisseau and Hastin Totty, Executors, and proved by George Cousins and Benjamin Totty, witnesses.

p.56 Will of Joseph Bass proved by John Friend and Leonard Nunnally, witnesses.

p.56 Thomas Bragg, orphan of William Bragg chooses Lucy Bra as his guardian.

Executors: sons Micajah and William
Dated 5 March 1795
Wit: Thomas Whitworth, Vinsent Blankinship, Allen Whitworth

p.383 Will of John Trabue
Lend to wife Magdolan, for life, 700 acres and she to have par
with house and plantation, 13 negroes and £ 140 to purchase
negroes and after her death, said latter negroes to my childre
by my above wife, that is: William , Anthony and Frances
To two sons Anthony and William, tract I live on , equally div
To sons Anthony and William and daughter Frances, slaves lent
my wife
To daughter Frances Trabue, 100 acres laid off my Tomahawk tra
To son Jacob, 100 acres of my Tomahawk tract and 5 negroes
To son Thomas, 100 acres of my Tomahawk tract and also land ne
the coal pits, adjoining William Ronald, and John Trabue, said
to be 50 acres, and all my land on Buckingham Road where
Blackwell and Moles now live, and 4 negroes
To daughter Polly Trabue, 100 acres of the Tomahawk tract & 5
Money due me from the estate of Thomas Elmore, whether as lega
or auditor, to be divided between my 4 children John, Jacob,
Thomas and Polly, they being children by my deceased wife
Elizabeth Elmore
All my Kentucky lands to be divided among my 7 above children
Executors: wife and sons John, Jacob and Thomas
Dated 27 April 1791
Wit: Bernard Markham, Thomas Branch, Thomas Burton

p.385 Will of James Gill of Dale Parish
To brother John Wilson Gill, land on White Oak, being all the
land I hold, only his mother to have use of it until he is of a
To my mother, 1 negro
To Frances Dyson, daughter of my sister Jenny, £ 15
To Peter Rowlett, son of my sister Betsy, £ 15
Rest equally divided between my sisters
Executors: William Rowlett and Rowlett Gill
Dated 20 August 1794
Wit: Edward Dance, Baxter Purkinson, Mary Gill

p.386 Will of James Vest 6 January 1795
Lend to wife Diner, items for life and then to all my children
Money from lawsuit I brought against Joseph Fore in Prince Edw
County, to discharge my debts
Francis Lockett, Sr. is to transact my business in the law suit
All my sons to be bound to a trade
Executors: friends Thomas Burfoot and Archer Traylor
Wit: Jos. Moseley, James Ball, Rich'd. Moseley

Mosby?

* Fore = Faure, later called Ford, son or grandson of Pierre Faure, Huguenot emigrée
Rapp (Rapin) Clarkin m Aug Ford

p.57 Will of Nicholas Giles presented by Executors who refused to qualify.

p.57 Thomas Martin was appointed Adm'r. of John Martin, dec'd

p.58 Will of Nancy Laborear presented by John Laborear, Exec and proved by Jacob Ashurst and Wm Flournoy

p.58 Will of Daniel McCallum presented by George Markham and Joseph Friend , Executors, and proved by George Hay and Jesse Cogbill

p.59 Will of Josiah Gale presented by Perkinhead Pitts, wit., and James Gale and Thomas Lafon, Executors granted probate.

p.59 Overseers of Poor for Dist. 3 bind: Reiney Vest, John Vest, Archelus Vest,Stephen Vest, Frank Carter Vest, Eleazer Vest and Littleberry Vest, orphans of James Vest, dec'd.

p.59 OVerseers of Poor for Dist. 4 bind James McGunnery and Eleazar Brown, poor orphans.

p.59 Will of John Vodin further proved by John Archer, wit.

p.60 Martha Turner appointed Adm'x. of Matthew Turner, dec'd.

Court for 14 April 1795

p.61 Will of Joseph Dillon proved by William Perry

p.61 Will of Thomas Osborne presented by George Markham and Joseph Friend, Executors, and proved by John Markham, wit.

p.64 Knowles Giles granted administration of will of Nicholas Giles, as Executors refused to qualify. Proved by Thomas Farr and Michael Ford, witnesses.

p.64 On motion of Daniel Wilson, it isordered that Thornton Moore and Mary his wife, which said Mary is person entitled to administer estate of Ralph B. Anderson, dec'd, be summoned to June Court to say whether they will administer estate.

p.69 A writing said to contain the will of Daniel Patram, dec' was presented in court by Matthew Gibbs, an executor and a witness, saying some years before death of Patram he asked' him to destroy this will as he had two children since will was made. Court orders this not be established as his will.

p.67 Will of Thomas Cheatham, dec'd, proved by William

p.137 William Archer appointed guardian to Mary Archer, orphan of Edward Archer, dec'd.

p.137 Obadiah Cox and Abraham Cox, orphans of Hickerson Cox, dec choose Simon Hancock as their guardian

p.137 Overseers of the Poor for District 4 bind William Money (

p.138 Will of Nathaniel Friend, dec'd, proved by Thomas A. Tayl a witness. George Woodson, an executor refused to act, and Charl Friend, another executor is to appear in court.

p.139 Daniel Boisseau appointed guardian to Nancy Hardie, orpha of William Hardie, dec'd.

p. 139 Overseers of Poor for District 3 bind Raney Vest, orphan of James Vest

Court 13 July 1795

Will of Mary Trabue, dec'd, proved by Thomas Wooldridge and Jame Foster, witnesses. Daniel Wooldridge, the Executor, granted prob (p.149)

p.151 Will of Elijah Robertson, dec'd, proved by Thomas Pride, witness. John Bass and Charles Foese granted probate.

p.152 James Cashion and Burwell Cashion granted probate on will of James Cashion, dec'd.

p.153 Will of John Falkes presented by Joel Cashion, an executo and proved by William Coates and Geo. Snellings, witnesses.

p.155 Will of Agnes Franklin presented by Joel Franklin, an executor and proved by George Cousins and Josiah Franklin, witne

p.155 James Vest, orphan of James Vest, dec'd, chooses Philip Vest as his guardian.

Court 11 August 1795

p.172 Creed Haskins, Aaron Haskins and Robert Haskins, sons of Thomas Haskins, and Creed Haskins, Robert Haskins and John Haski sons of Edward Haskins, and infants under 21

Vs

William Haskins, John Haskins and Thomas Haskins.

Land to be sold and divided among above parties.

p.211 David Ross granted administration of estate of John May,

p.213 William Sims granted administration of estate of William Sims, dec'd.

p.215 Overseers of Poor , Dist. 3 to bind Bevill Archer, Sylvi Joines and Archer Miles, poor orphans

p.217 Stephen Chastain appointed guardian to Raney Vest, orpha of James Vest, dec'd.

p.219 Overseers of Poor, Dist. 2, bind Henry Lipscomb, William Custable and William Paul, poor orphans.

p.219 Francis Lockett, Sr. granted administration with will annexed of estate of James Vest, dec'd

p.220 Edward Friend granted administration of estate of France Osborne, dec'd

p.221 Edward Friend appointed administrator of estate of Ann Osborne, dec'd, with will annexed.

p.222 Will of Isham Wells proved by Edward Goode, wit.

p.222 Overseers of Poor, Dist. 1, bind Henry Moxley, a poor orphan.

Court 12 October 1795

p.225 Will of Frances Baugh proved by John Eccles and Josiah Flournoy, witnesses. James Baugh and Jeremiah Baugh, Executors, granted probate.

p228 Will of John Cox proved by Archer Short and Reuben Short, witnesses; William Cox, an executor, granted probate.

p.228 Will of Thomas Bryers proved by Turner Wotton, a witnes and probate granted William Trabue, an executor.

p.Benjamin Branch, orphan of Edward Branch, chooses Thomas Bra as his guardian (p.228)

p.230 Will of John Farmer proved by James Elam. George Markha Jno. Hill, Leo. Cheatham, executors, granted probate.

20 Jan 1819

Photocopy of microfilm reviewed at 1992 at South Carolina City. Cropped because otherwise almost impossible to read. Regarding possible relative but not likely ancestor of White family.
The inquest jury decided that on 20 Jan 1819 James Kest, shoemaker, shot his wife, Sally.
They said the devil made him do it. Christine of the Peace Kennedy — or at least some Kennedy's were called by marriage to Phillip West, who had a daughter Betsy not an ancestor.)

Charlestown county court 1819 August 17th This Summons with the endorsement was presented in court & ordered to be recorded. —

Test

Pachs Poindexter. Clk.

Charlestown county to wit:

Inquisition indented in the name between Mrs Sally Brooks and Christopher Bass being on the lands belonging to the estate of Garret Brown dec'd in the county aforesaid, upon the view of the dead body of Mrs Sally West late wife of James West, then and there being found lying dead taken, before Edward Kennedy one of the Commonwealth's justices of the peace for said county, acting on this respect as coroner, and upon the oaths of John Lafon, James McGee, Nelson Farmer, Daniel Chalkley, Seth Chalkley, John Chalkley, Martin Chalkley, Spencer Chalkley, Atwell Lafon, John Humphries, William Hatcher & Emanuel Blanchinship, good and lawful men of the county aforesaid, who being sworn & charged to inquire on the part of the said Commonwealth, when, where, and after what manner the said Sally West came to her death upon their oath do say, that the said Sally West was wounded by a ball supposed to be made of lead, which ball is supposed to have been discharged from a gun or some other fire lock, which appears to have entered her breast, passed through her body and came out under her left shoulder blade, and then struck a pine tree about six feet in rear of the place where the deceased lay & which wounded the said jurors suppose the said Sally West must have instantly died; and the said jurors do further say that the said murder in their opinion was committed on Monday morning the 20th instant, and the said jurors upon their oath do further say, that from strong circumstantial evidence they do verily believe that a certain James West, shoemaker, of the county of Charlestown, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved & seduced by the instigation of the Devil, did at the time and place aforesaid, in the manner aforesaid, feloniously wilfully & of his malice aforethought inflict the afore-said wound of the said Sally West.

This is SAD

[illegible] that the [illegible] the said day the jurors [illegible] upon their oath [illegible] and upon the said [illegible] upon the [illegible] further [illegible] that the said James Vest at the time of his committing the murder aforesaid had in his possession about twenty [illegible] of money, [illegible] one wagon, four head of cattle, two hogs, one [illegible] three beds, one gun and some small articles of household furniture. In witness whereof we with all the jurors aforesaid as the said jurors have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals this twenty [illegible] day of June anno Dom: One thousand eight hundred and nineteen.

John Lafon (Seal)
James McGee (Seal)
Leonard Nunnally J.P. (Seal) — Nelson Turner (Seal)
Daniel Chalkley (Seal)
Seth Chalkley (Seal)
John Chalkley (Seal)
Matthew Chalkley (Seal)
Spencer Chalkley (Seal)
Amelia Lafon (Seal)
John Hamilton (Seal)
W. Hatcher (Seal)
Emmanuel Blankenship (Seal)

In Chesterfield county court 1819 August 9th This inquest on the dead body of Sally Vest was presented in court & ordered to be recorded.

Test

Pathe Poindexter C

Exam P.

S. Dyer Will

In the name of God Amen I Sebram Dyer of the county of Chesterfield being very sick and weak in body of perfect mind and memory thanks be given unto God, calling to mind the mortality of my body & knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die, do make & ordain this my last Will and testament that is to say principally and first of all I give and recommend my soul unto the hands of Almighty God, who gave it, and my body I give & recommend to the earth to be buried in decent christian like burial at the discretion of my executors nothing doubting but

Photocopy of microfilm reviewed. Oct 1982 at Sect. Lake City. Crippled because other arise almost impossible to read. Regarding probable relative but not likely ancestor of White family. The inquest jury decided that on 20 Jan 1819 James West, shoemaker, shot his wife, Sally. They said the devil made him do it. (Justice of the Peace Nunnally — or at least some Nunnalys were related by marriage to Phillip West, who had a daughter Betty not our ancestor.)

Chesterfield county sct 1819 August 11th This Sometime an indictment was presented in court & ordered to be recorded. —

Test

Parke Poindexter. Clk.

Chesterfield county to wit:

Inquisition indented on the oath of Mr Billy Beasley and Christopher Bass being on the lands belonging to the estate of Garret Brown dec'd in the county aforesaid, upon the view of the dead body of Mrs Sally West late wife of James West, then and there being found lying dead & taken, before Edward Nunnally one of the Commonwealth's justices of the peace for said county acting in this respect as coroner, and upon the oaths of John Bass, James McGee, Nelson Farmer, Daniel Chalkley, Seth Chalkley, John Chalkley, Martin Chalkley, Spencer Chalkley, Atwell Bass, John Hamblin, William Hatcher & Emanuel Blankenship good and lawful men of the county aforesaid, who being sworn & charged to inquire on the part of the said Commonwealth, when, where, and how, and after what manner the said Sally West came to her death upon their oath do say, that the said Sally West was wounded by a ball supposed to be made of lead, which ball is supposed to have been discharged from a gun or some other firelock, which appears to have entered her breast, passed through her body and came out under her left shoulder blade, and then struck a pine tree about ten feet in rear of the place where the deceased lay & died, wounds the said jurors suppose the said Sally West must have instantly died; and the said jurors do further say that the said murder in their opinion was committed on Sunday morning the 20th instant, and the said jurors upon their oath do further say, that from strong circumstantial evidence they do verily believe that a certain James West shoemaker, of the county of Chesterfield, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved & seduced by the instigation of the Devil, did at the time and place aforesaid, in the manner aforesaid, feloniously willfully & of his malice aforethought effect the afore-[illegible] death of the said Sally West

[illegible] Jurors to enquire upon their oaths when and where and how the said Sally Veat came to her death do say that we find the said Sally Veat died by a wound received from the hand of Jesse Veat the husband of the deceased and we do further find that the said Jesse Veat at the time of his committing the murder aforesaid had in his possession about twenty acres of land, one house and one cupboard, four head of cattle, two hogs, one for three horses, two beds, one gun and some small articles of household furniture. In Witness whereof as well as the jurors aforesaid as the said parties have hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals this twenty [illegible] day of June anno Dom: One thousand eight hundred and nineteen.

John Lafon (Seal)
James McGee (Seal)
Leonard Nunnally JP (Seal) — Nelson Farmer (Seal)
Daniel Chalkley (Seal)
Seth Chalkley (Seal)
John Chalkley (Seal)
Martin Chalkley (Seal)
Spencer Chalkley (Seal)
Aurelli Lafon (Seal)
John Hamilton (Seal)
W. Hatcher (Seal)
Emmanuel Blankenship (Seal)

In Chesterfield county court 1819 August 9th This inquest on the dead body of Sally Veat was presented in court & ordered to be recorded.

Test

Parke Poindexter C

Exam P.

S. Dyer's Will

In the name of God Amen I Isham Dyer of the county of Chesterfield being very sick and weak in body of perfect mind and memory thanks be given unto God, calling to mind the mortality of my body & knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die, do make & ordain this my last Will and testament that is to say principally and first of all I give and recommend my soul unto the hands of Almighty God, who gave it, and my body I give & recommend to the earth to be buried in decent christian like burial at the discretion of my executors nothing doubting but

AVERIL

1830

PAGE 7/140

Samuel Hutton 236 (fam)	0-2-3-0-0-0-1	2-1-0-0-0-1
Silas Harlin 150, 164, 179	1-0-0-0-0-0-1 fam 187 + index	0-0-0-0-1
Mathew Harlin	0-0-0-0-0-1	2-0-1-0-0-1
Tenant farmer John French 164, 192, 196	0-0-0-0-0-0-0-1 Methodist class	0-0-1-0-0-0-1-0-0-1
James Harris o	1-0-0-0-1	2-0-0-0-1
Elizabeth Harris o	0-0-2-2-0-1	0-0-0-0-0-0-0-1
from New York - 1824 Noah Mason 150, 186	0-1-0-1-1-0-0-1	0-1-0-1-1-0-0-1
(Masson)		
James Wood +	1-0-0-1-0-0-1	0-1-2-1-0-1
Robert Crow 68, 220 +	0-1-1-1-1-0-0-1 Miller - see pk	0-0-2-1-0-0-0-1
Elizabeth Fletcher	0-0-0-0-2-0-0-1	0-0-1-3-0-0-0-1
taught school, in legislature Job Fletcher, Jr. } many	1-0-0-0-1	2-0-0-0-1
Xref p147 " 58 Job Fletcher See index	2-2-0-0-0-1-1	1-1-1-0-0-0-1
Anderson Tibbs o	0-1-2-1-0-0-1	2-0-1-0-0-0-1
Sugar King +	0-0-2-1-0-0-0-0-0-1	0-2-0-2-0-0-1
James Simpson } 156	2-2-1-0-1-0-1 } Catholics	2-1-0-3-1-0-1
Richard Simpson	3-1-0-0-0-0-1	0-1-2-2-0-1
William Drennan many see index	0-0-1-0-0-0-0-0-1	0-0-1-1-0-0-1
many Joseph Dodds 123, 38 56	1-2-1-2-0-0-1 Cpy p.56	1-0-1-1-0-1
William Hatchet o	0-1-1-0-0-0-1	2-1-0-0-0-1
minister presby - Rev Gilbert Dodds 123 128 etc	2-1-1-0-0-1	1-0-2-0-0-1
William Drenan many	2-0-0-0-0-1 71,	0-0-0-0-1
John L. Laughlin o	1-1-1-2-0-0-0-1	1-1-1-1-0-0-1
✓ Philo Averil	0-0-1-1-1-0-0-0-1	0-0-0-2-0-0-0-1
John Nuckols fam 121, 128, 138	1-1-0-1-0-0-1	2-0-1-1-0-0-1
199-203 - Daniel Esly 200 etc	0-0-0-1-0-0-0-1 Easley	0-0-0-1-0-0-0-1
Martin Pulliam 84	2-0-0-0-1 picture	0-0-0-0-1
Xref p140 John L. Drenan all over book	0-0-1-0-1 had polling place, stage stand	1-0-0-1 Postmaster 1827

PAGE 8/141

John Brownell 226	2-1-0-0-0-1	1-0-0-0-1
Headley Smith + etc 109?	3-3-0-0-0-1	1-0-0-0-0-1
William Baldwin o	0-0-0-0-1	1-0-0-0-1
Elly Noll o	0-0-2-1	0-1-1-0-0-0-1
William Enix ? + 55?	0-0-0-0-0-0-0-1	0-0-0-0-1-0-0-1
James Enix ?	1-1-0-0-1	1-0-0-0-1
Evans Poor o	2-0-0-0-1	0-0-0-0-1
Leven Hurley o	0-0-0-0-0-1	0-0-1-0-0-1
Andrew Drenan +	1-0-0-0-1	1-0-0-0-1
Elizabeth Laughlin o	0-1-0-1-2	0-0-1-1-1
William Laughlin o	0-1-0-0-0-1	1-0-0-0-0-1-0-0-1
William A. Clarke 6-39	1-1-0-3-1-0-1	1-0-2-0-0-0-1
tell many - see index - Zachariah Peter 55, 59	1-1-0-1-0-0-1 co commr. J.P., Probate Judge	0-0-0-2-0-1 Cpy p 59 3 mi No of Sec 21 Twp 8 R5W
William Richardson 80	0-0-1-1-1-0-1 family in mid 1820s	3-1-1
Jacob Metz o	2-1-1-1-2-0-0-1 to Dreamers P.	0-2-0-0-0-0-1
David Harmon o	0-0-0-0-1	1-0-0-1
Joseph Limon o	1-0-0-0-1	1-1-0-0-1
→ Japhet A. Ball 68, 194, 187	0-0-0-0-0-1	1-0-0-0-1
John Barns 68	2-0-0-0-1 149	1-0-0-0-1
Smith Ball	0-0-0-0-1	0-0-0-0-0-0-0-1
John L. Ball	0-0-0-0-1	2-1-0-0-1
Thomas Long o	1-2-1-0-0-1	0-0-0-1-2
Lewis Richardson +	1-0-0-0-1	1-0-0-0-1

Says Sir Hugh (1600-1657) gg grandson of Sir Roger, first at Roxburgh & Cadet branch of Charles Cholmondeleys

(NOT HT)

Throw out part not needed

Clayton Family 183

Averill Arms:

Gules, a cross fleury ermine, in chief a buck's head

A large amount of information a

169	8	42	
338		60	
66		56	
210	4	58	
Pks	20	93	
Wright			
212	5	51	

Clayton 8

PEDIGREE CHART

Norma Hansen Zaniewski
8924 W. Plainfield Ave.
Greenfield, WI 53228-2230

Person No. 1 on this chart is the same person as No. 14 on chart No. Clayton 7

Chart No. _____

Date _____

b. Date of Birth
p.b. Place of Birth
m. Date of Marriage
d. Date of Death
p.d. Place of Death

Fraternal

Maternal

1 Robert de Clayton
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

2 William de Clayton (Father of No. 1)
(2nd son)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d. Candlemass Day - 02 Feb 1114
p.d.

3 Mary de Hyde (Mother of No. 1)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

4 Robert of Caudebec (Father of No. 2)
b.
p.b. from Caudebec, Normandy
m. as part of William
p.m. the Conqueror's invading
d. forces, received the Clayton
p.d. manor in Lancashire

5 (Mother of No. 2)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

6 (Father of No. 3)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

7 (Mother of No. 3)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

Margaret Osbaldeston (Spouse of No. 1)
b. d.
p.b. p.d.

8 (Father of No. 4)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

9 (Mother of No. 4)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

10 (Father of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

11 (Mother of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

12 (Father of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

13 (Mother of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

14 (Father of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

15 (Mother of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

16 (Father of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

17 (Mother of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

18 (Father of No. 9 Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

19 (Mother of No. 9 Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

20 (Father of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

21 (Mother of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

22 (Father of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

23 (Mother of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

24 (Father of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____) Hyde
b.
m.
d.

25 (Mother of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

26 (Father of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

27 (Mother of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

28 (Father of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

29 (Mother of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

30 (Father of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

31 (Mother of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

Hyde Hall in Cheshire was home of Mary de Hyde who married William de Clayton about 1090 AD. The Burke's Commoners sketch at left does not start that early. The coat of arms shown is quartered with some other family. Those used by our family are indicated by the arrow — blue shield with golden bend & lozenges.

Margaret Osbaldeston, of Osbaldeston, Lancashire who married William's son Robert de Clayton, was also living much earlier than the sketch at right starts, but shared the same origin as Sir John mentioned at right — the difference being that he was a younger son who was rewarded by (or through) the king for his success in a battle at Poitou (France) with the hand and land of an heiress in Chadlington, Oxfordshire.

I presume but cannot state for sure, that these Osbaldestons, like the Claytons kept the same coat of arms.

— Burke's Extinct and Dormant Peerages

PEDIGREE CHART

Norma Hansen Zaniewski
8924 W. Plainfield Ave.
Greenfield, WI 53228-2230

Date

Person No. 1 on this chart is the same person as No. 16 on chart No. Clayton 4

Chart No. Clayton 5

b. Date of Birth
p.b. Place of Birth
m. Date of Marriage
d. Date of Death
p.d. Place of Death

Fraternal

Maternal

1 Thomas Clayton
b. Clayton, Lancs.
p.b.
m. ca 1442? disinherited for disobeying parents – (only bro. Wm. died without issue) so his son inherited)
p.m.
d.
p.d.

2 John Clayton (Father of No. 1)
b.
p.b.
m. 1440
p.m.
d.
p.d.

4 Thomas Clayton (Father of No. 2)
b.
p.b. rec'd Twp + Village
m.
p.m.
d. 1426
p.d.

8 John Clayton (Father of No. 4)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d. 1404
p.d. bor. Leyland, Lancs.

16 John Clayton (Father of No. 8, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d. living 1356 +

17 ( ) (Mother of No. 8, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

9 (Dame) Mary Ferriby (Mother of No. 4)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

18 Ferriby (Father of No. 9 Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d.

19 (Ferriby?) (Mother of No. 9 Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

5 Dorothy Threll well (Mother of No. 2)
Rec'd the manor of Thrallwell as marriage portion (dower)
b. Cheshire
p.b.
d.
p.d. (really Thelwell?)

10 Thrallwell (Father of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

20 Thelwell (Father of No. 10, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d.

21 (Thelwell?) (Mother of No. 10, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

11 (Mother of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

22 (Father of No. 11, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d.

23 (Mother of No. 11, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

3 Mary Mainwaring (Mother of No. 1)
b. Cheshire
p.b.
d. ~~1445~~ (must be wrong) ~~later~~
p.d.

6 (Father of No. 3)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

12 (Father of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

24 Ralph de Mainwaring (Father of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. M-1 To Mainwaring Section)
b.
m.
d. ca 1300

25 (Mother of No. 12, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

generations need to be filled in between Mary and Ralph

26 (Father of No. 13, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d.

27 (Mother of No. 13, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

13 (Mother of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

7 (Mother of No. 3)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

14 (Father of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

28 (Father of No. 14, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d.

29 (Mother of No. 14, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

15 (Mother of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

30 (Father of No. 15, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d.

31 (Mother of No. 15, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

(Spouse of No. 1)
b. d.
p.b. p.d.

PEDIGREE CHART

Norma Hansen Zaniewski
8924 W. Plainfield Ave.
Greenfield, WI 53228-2230

Date

Person No. 1 on this chart is the same person as No. 16 on chart No. Clayton 5

Chart No. Clayton 6

b. Date of Birth
p.b. Place of Birth
m. Date of Marriage
d. Date of Death
p.d. Place of Death

1. John Clayton
   - b.
   - p.b.
   - m. 1307
   - p.m.
   - d.
   - p.d.
   - Fraternal
   - 2. John Clayton (Father of No. 1)
     - b.
     - p.b.
     - m.
     - p.m.
     - d.
     - p.d.
     - 4. Ralph Clayton (Father of No. 2)
       - b.
       - p.b.
       - m.
       - p.m.
       - d.
       - p.d.
       - 8. John Clayton (Father of No. 4)
         - b.
         - p.b.
         - m. 1263
         - p.m.
         - d.
         - p.d.
         - 16. Thomas Clayton (Father of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - m.
           - d.
         - 17. ( ) (Mother of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - d.
       - 9. Ruth Lathom (Mother of No. 4)
         - b. (Lathoms was a baronial family. mg)
         - p.b.
         - d.
         - p.d.
         - 18. Latham (Father of No. 9 Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - m.
           - d.
         - 19. (Mother of No. 9 Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - d.
     - 5. ( ) (Mother of No. 2)
       - b.
       - p.b.
       - d.
       - p.d.
       - 10. (Father of No. 5)
         - b.
         - p.b.
         - m.
         - p.m.
         - d.
         - p.d.
         - 20. (Father of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - m.
           - d.
         - 21. (Mother of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - d.
       - 11. (Mother of No. 5)
         - b.
         - p.b.
         - d.
         - p.d.
         - 22. (Father of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - m.
           - d.
         - 23. (Mother of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - d.
   - Maternal
   - 1. John Clayton
     - b.
     - p.b.
     - m.
     - p.m.
     - d. living 1356
     - p.d.
     - in 1354 (to France with John of Gaunt) & with King Edward at times
     - 6. (Father of No. 3)
       - b.
       - p.b.
       - m.
       - p.m.
       - d.
       - p.d.
       - 12. (Father of No. 6)
         - b.
         - p.b.
         - m.
         - p.m.
         - d.
         - p.d.
         - 24. Langton (Father of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - m.
           - d.
         - 25. (Mother of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - d.
       - 13. (Mother of No. 6)
         - b.
         - p.b.
         - d.
         - p.d.
         - 26. (Father of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - m.
           - d.
         - 27. (Mother of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - d.
     - 3. Mary de Langton (Mother of No. 1)
       - b.
       - p.b.
       - d.
       - p.d.
       - This may be a regal line when we find it
       - 14. (Father of No. 7)
         - b.
         - p.b.
         - m.
         - p.m.
         - d.
         - p.d.
         - 28. (Father of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - m.
           - d.
         - 29. (Mother of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - d.
       - 15. (Mother of No. 7)
         - b.
         - p.b.
         - d.
         - p.d.
         - 30. (Father of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - m.
           - d.
         - 31. (Mother of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
           - b.
           - d.
     - 7. (Mother of No. 3)
       - b.
       - p.b.
       - d.
       - p.d.
   - ( ) (Spouse of No. 1)
     - b.
     - p.b.
     - d.
     - p.d.

PEDIGREE CHART

Clayton 7

Chart No. _____

Norma Hansen Zaniewski
8924 W. Plainfield Ave.
Greenfield, WI 53228-2230

Date _____

Person No. 1 on this chart is the same person as No. 16 on chart No. Clayton 6

b. Date of Birth
p.b. Place of Birth
m. Date of Marriage
d. Date of Death
p.d. Place of Death

Fraternal

Maternal

1 Thomas Clayton
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

2 John Clayton (Father of No. 1)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

living during reign of Edw I

4 Robert Clayton (Father of No. 2)
b.
p.b.
m. 1151
p.m.
d.
p.d.

8 William de Clayton (Father of No. 4)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d. pur. Leyland Lancashire

16 Robert de Clayton (Father of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. 7a)
b.
m.
d.

17 Margaret Osbaldeston (Mother of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b. of Osbaldeston, Lancs?
d.

9 Elizabeth Fairington (Mother of No. 4)
b.
p.b. Farrington, Lancashire
d.
p.d.

18 FARINGTON, (Father of No. 9 Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

19 (Mother of No. 9)

Arms—Arg. a chev. gu. between three leopards' heads sa.

5 Elizabeth Parker (Mother of No. 2)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

10 Parker (Father of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

20 Parker (Father of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

21 (Mother of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

11 (Mother of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

22 (Father of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

23 (Mother of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

6 Peel (Father of No. 3)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

12 (Father of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

24 Peel (Father of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

25 (Mother of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

13 (Mother of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

26 (Father of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

27 (Mother of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

3 Cicely Peel (Mother of No. 1)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

14 (Father of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

28 (Father of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

29 (Mother of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

7 (Mother of No. 3)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

15 (Mother of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

30 (Father of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

31 (Mother of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

( ) (Spouse of No. 1)
b. d.
p.b. p.d.

This is skimpy & does not mention Cicely Peck, but suggests family origin.

PEDIGREE CHART

Name of Compiler: Norma

Address:

City, State:

Date:

Person No. 1 on this chart is the same person as No. 17 on chart No. Clayton 3

Chart No. Clayton 10

5

b. Date of Birth
p.b. Place of Birth
m. Date of Marriage
d. Date of Death
p.d. Place of Death

1 Margaret Cholmaley
b. about 1575?
p.b. East Riding Yorkshire, England
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

2 Sir Jasper Cholmaley (Father of No. 1)
b. Ca 1445?
p.b. of East Riding, Yorkshire
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

3 (Mother of No. 1)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

4 (Father of No. 2)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

5 (Mother of No. 2)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

6 (Father of No. 1)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

7 (Mother of No. 2)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

Fraternal

Maternal

(Spouse of No. 1) William Clayton of Oakenshaw Yorkshire
b.
p.b.
d. ca 1627
p.d.

8 (Father of No. 4)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

9 (Mother of No. 4)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

10 (Father of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

11 (Mother of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

12 (Father of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

13 (Mother of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

14 (Father of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

15 (Mother of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

16 (Father of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

17 (Mother of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

18 (Father of No. 9 Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

19 (Mother of No. 9 Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

20 (Father of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

21 (Mother of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

22 (Father of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

23 (Mother of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

24 (Father of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

25 (Mother of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

26 (Father of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

27 (Mother of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

28 (Father of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

29 (Mother of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

30 (Father of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

31 (Mother of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

PEDIGREE CHART

Clayton 11

Norma Hansen Zaniewski
8924 W. Plainfield Ave.
Greenfield, WI 53228-2230

Person No. 1 on this chart is the same person as No. 20 on chart No. Clayton 3

Chart No. _____

Date Oct 2002

This page based on "Burke's Extinct & Dormant Peerage"

See over

b. Date of Birth
p.b. Place of Birth
m. Date of Marriage
d. Date of Death
p.d. Place of Death

Fraternal

1 Sir Harry Bowyer, ~~Hary~~ Lisons
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d. before his father (1600's)
p.d.

2 Sir William Bowyer, Knight (Father of No. 1)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m. one of the tellers of the Exchequer in the reign of King James I. He purchased Denham Court (early 1600's)
d.
p.d.

4 Francis Bowyer, Esq (Father of No. 2)
b. ca 1528
p.b. an eminent merchant of London, sheriff of London x 1577, later alderman
m.
p.m.
d. 1581
p.d. London

8 ? Thomas Bowyer, Baronet? (Father of No. 4)
b. c. 1495?
p.b. See Norman Dwight - which says he didn't in Kingsley & was probably a Bogan (Boovier)
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

16 (Father of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

17 (Mother of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

9 (Mother of No. 4)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

18 (Father of No. 9 Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

19 (Mother of No. 9 Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

5 Elizabeth Tillesworth (Mother of No. 2)
(dau & heiress of London
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

10 William Tillesworth, Esq. (Father of No. 5)
b.
p.b. of London
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

20 (Father of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

21 (Mother of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

11 (Mother of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

22 (Father of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

23 (Mother of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

Maternal

6 Thomas Pierson, Esq. (Father of No. 3)
b.
p.b. of Westminster, usher of the Court of the Star Chamber
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

12 (Father of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

24 (Father of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

25 (Mother of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

13 (Mother of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

26 (Father of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

27 (Mother of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

3 Mary Pierson (Mother of No. 1)
dau & co-heiress of Westminster
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

14 (Father of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

28 (Father of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

29 (Mother of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

7 (Mother of No. 3)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

15 (Mother of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

30 (Father of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

31 (Mother of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

Anne Salter, dau. & heiress of Nicholas Salter of London (Spouse of No. 1)
b. London
p.b.
d.
p.d.

were living in Normandy in the 1180's. In 1273 a William Bouvier lived in Sussex, an early ancestor for whom Sir William of Petworth, at far left, was named.

Just like the French Huguenots in America, Norman French names in England changed over the years — Bouvier to Bowyer.

of Knipp ersley, Staffordshire

that William Bowyer of Petworth was grandson of Sir Thomas (above) living in 2 Richard II. (That was 1379) — a pretty big stretch, perhaps 50 years too long.

The Normen People, calling our Bowyers Baronets, says Dugdale was in error when he said those of Suffolk were related to those of Staffordshire — pointing out that the arms were entirely different (see arms illustrations above). Our Bowyers bore the same arms as the Bouviers of Normendy. (Shades of Jackie (Bouvier) Kennedy!) He cites Hugo and John Bouvier who

* Being grandson of Robert Bowyer, mayor in 1532, Sir William Bowyer of Denham, Buckinghamshire, was father-in-law of Sir John Clayton (The only Sir William Bowyer of this time.)

But Burke, writing over a century ago, was misled by 17th century writer Dugdale, who claimed

PEDIGREE CHART

Clayton 9

Norma Hansen Zaniewski
8924 W. Plainfield Ave.
Greenfield, WI 53228-2230

Person No. 1 on this chart is the same person as No. 17 on chart No. Clayton 2

Chart No. _____

Date _____

b. Date of Birth
p.b. Place of Birth
m. Date of Marriage
d. Date of Death
p.d. Place of Death

Fraternal

4 prob. James Whiting (Father of No. 2)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.
Brought to VA with his sister Rebecca as children by a George Reath in Aug 1643 entered 250 acres Ware Neck

2 Dr. (Col.) Henry Whiting (Father of No. 1)
b.
p.b.
m. (2)
p.m.
d.
p.d.
of Elmington Manor
1693
Ware Parish, Gloucester Co VA

5 ( ) (Mother of No. 2)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

Maternal

1 Elizabeth Whiting
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

6 (Father of No. 3)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

3 Elizabeth ~~Sophia~~ ( ) Buckner?, ~~widow Bushrod~~ (Mother of No. 1)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

7 (Mother of No. 3)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

Dr. John Clayton (Spouse of No. 1)
b. d.
p.b. p.d.

8 Whiting (Father of No. 4)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

9 (Mother of No. 4)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

10 (Father of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

11 (Mother of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

12 (Father of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

13 (Mother of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

14 (Father of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

15 (Mother of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

16 Whiting (Father of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

17 (Mother of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

18 (Father of No. 9 Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

19 (Mother of No. 9 Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

20 (Father of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

21 (Mother of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

22 (Father of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

23 (Mother of No. 11, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

24 (Father of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

25 (Mother of No. 12, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

26 (Father of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

27 (Mother of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

28 (Father of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

29 (Mother of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

30 (Father of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
m.
d.

31 (Mother of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. _____)
b.
d.

Does not agree with
Snow-Nelson chart - evidently
she has later info than
by Mayflower Descendant

This page shows her royal
descent thru George Rooke
the other only goes back to

PEDIGREE CHART

Clayton 12

Name of Compiler: Norma Hansen Zaniewski
Address: 8924 W. Plainfield Ave.
City, State: Greenfield, WI 53228-2230
Date

Person No. 1 on this chart is the same person as No. 19 on chart No. C 2

Chart No.

C1 POSTULATED ANCESTRY of Mildred (Lewis) Willis

b. Date of Birth
p.b. Place of Birth
m. Date of Marriage
d. Date of Death
p.d. Place of Death

1 Mildred Lewis
b.
p.b.
m. (3)
p.m.
d.
p.d.
(had 3 bros, 10 sisters not all lived)
m1) John Howell
m2) Dr John Brown

Fraternal

2 Col John Lewis "Councillor" (Father of No. 1)
b. 30 Nov 1669
p.b. of VA Council-1715
m.
p.m. of Chemokins, New Kent Co VA
d. 14 Nov 1735
p.d. bur at Warner Hall, Gloucester Co VA
14 children (9 known)

3 Elizabeth Warner (Mother of No. 1)
oldest daughter (14 children)
b. 03 June 1699 (Speaker of House of Burgesses)
p.b.
m. before 1671
p.m. (attended Maidens Taylor School-13 London)
d. 19 June 1681 bur at
p.d. Warner Hall, Gloucester Co VA
sent to school in England will attended Taylor's school London

4 Major John Lewis (Father of No. 2)
b. ca 1635
p.b. of Chemokins, New Kent Co VA
m.
p.m. 1657
d. ~~1657~~
p.d.

5 Isabella Miller (Mother of No. 2)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

6 Col. Augustine Warner, Sr. (Father of No. 1)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d. 24 Nov 1674
p.d. Warner Hall, Gloucester Co VA

7 Mildred Reade (Mother of No. 2)
b.
p.b. Warner Hall
d. 1694
p.d.

Col Henry Willis (Spouse of No. 1)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

8 Brad "Gen" Robert Lewis (Father of No. 4)
b. 1607
p.b. Breon Wales
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d. York Co VA

9 Elizabeth ( ) (Mother of No. 4)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

10 James Miller (Father of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d. 1659
p.d. York Co VA

11 ( ) (Mother of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

12 Augustine Warner (Father of No. 6)
b. 28 Nov 1610
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d. 24 Nov 1674
p.d. Warner Hall, Gloucester Co VA

13 Mary ( ) (Mother of No. 6)
b. 15 May 1614
p.b.
d. 16 Aug 1663
p.d. bur. Warner Hall

14 Col George Reade (Father of No. 7)
b. 1609
p.b. of London, England
m.
p.m.
d. Will pr 20 Nov 1657
p.d. Yorktown VA

15 Elizabeth Martiau (Mother of No. 7)
b. 1625
p.b. Elizabeth City VA
d. 1686
p.d. Yorktown VA

16 "Gen" Robert Lewis
b. 1574, son of Sir Edmund Lewis & Ann Dort
m.
d. of Wilts Co, Wales dau of Earl of Dorset

17 (Mother of No. 8, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

18 (Father of No. 9 Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d.

19 (Mother of No. 9 Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

20 Miller (Father of No. 10, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d.

21 (Mother of No. 10, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

22 (Father of No. 11, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d.

23 (Mother of No. 11, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

24 Warner (Father of No. 12, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d.

25 (Mother of No. 12, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

26 (Father of No. 13, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
m.
d.

27 (Mother of No. 13, Cont. on chart No.)
b.
d.

28 Robert Reade (Father of No. 14, Cont. on chart No.)
b. 15
m. 1600
d. 1628 Linkinhall Manor, Hertfordshire
Mildred Windebank

29 (Mother of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. C13)
b. 1584
d. will 15 Aug 1630 Elizabeth City VA 1624
Huguenot

30 Capt. Nicolas Martiau (Father of No. 15, Co)
b. 1591 England?
m.
d. 24 Apr 1657 Yorktown VA

31 (Mother of No. 15, on chart No.)

MILWAUKEE COUNTY GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY Rev. 1985

CHART No. 1

(READE)

Only Conquers was in this section from Ext + Donat Peerage

Chapter 3 — Read easily

Margaret, dau Sir Lyon Welles ✓ (m Thos Dymoke?) 1470 — NP sayl Welles = Willis

Agnes dau John Baron of Lordes — 1516

Sir George Telbois of Kynald (156x) ✓ — See Taillebois 369, 413

Elizabeth, dau Sir William Gascoigne ✓ of Gawthorpe — NP de Gascoigne NP 256

also m Margaret Percy ○ NP see below

next (earlier) page ✓ Dionysia dau Sir Hugh Placeters m Henry Dymoke NP p 365 ca 1300?

○ Alice Harville m his son John Dymoke (1300? — de Harville?

Margaret, dau Sir Thos Ladbroke ○ no NP of Thos Sir + Lord of Ennesbury

m Johanne Mauria dau Philip Marmion — temp Henry II — NP 323

Sir Nicholas Hebden, Kt — no NP Hebden

m Katherine dau of William de Wyghton + Bonice, dau Sir Edmund de Oyegh — no NP? Wybrow? 1446 — 1365?

de Aton NP p 433 ✓ Sir William de Aton ○ m Isabel, dau Henry Percy — NP 359-360 — Rye ○ NP 387

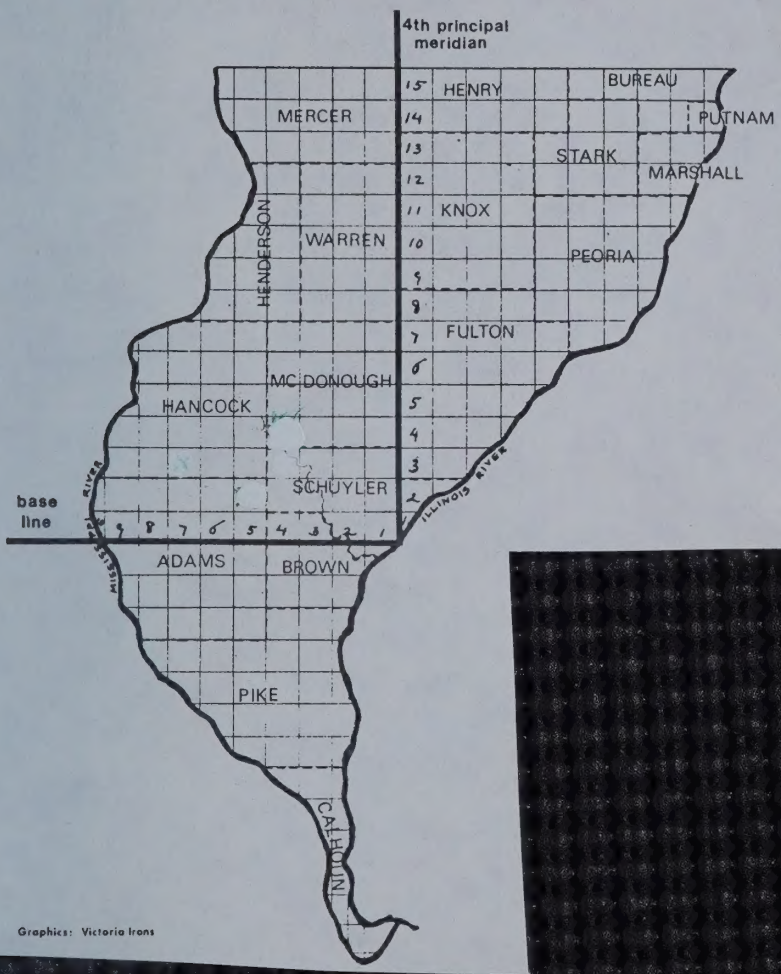
Port NP pg 367 — William Port, Esq ✓ m Nest, dau Stephen Scrope ○ — No NP Scrope

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

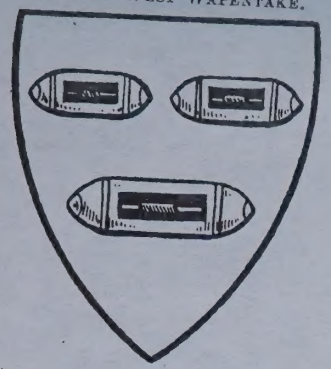
ILLINOIS MILITARY TRACT



Graphics: Victoria Irons

GILLING WEST WAPENTAKE.

Richmund, 21 Aug. 1665.



Shuttleworth of Forcet.

ARMS:—Argent, three weavers' shuttles Sable, tipped and quilled Or, a crescent for difference.

I. *THOMAS SHUTTLEWORTH, of Gawthropp, in com. Lanc., Esq.* (third son of Hugh Shuttleworth, of Gawthorpe, co. Lanc., and Ann, dau. of Thomas Grimshaw, of Clayton), d. in 1593; mar. 1586 Ann, dau. of Richard Lever, of Little Lever, she d. 1637, æt. sixty-eight. They had issue—

1. *Richard Shuttleworth, of Gawthrope, in com. Lanc., Esqr.* (a quo Shuttleworth, of Gawthorpe, see Whitaker's Whalley, ii, 184).

Nicholas (II).

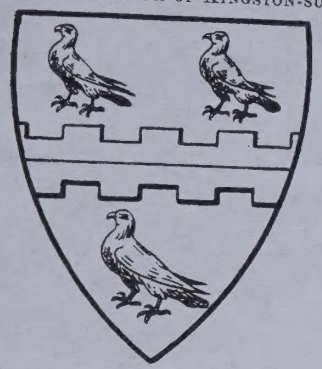
Ughtred, Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, admitted 26 May 1606.

II. *NICHOLAS SHUTTLEWORTH, of Forcet, in com. Ebor., æt. 77 an. 21 Aug. 1665*, of Gray's Inn, bought Forcet, d. s.p. His great nephew Richard, of Gawthorpe, probably inherited Forcet, which was sold by his descendant in 1784 (see Whitaker's Whalley, ii, 184).

Authority—Whitaker's Whalley.

THE BOROUGH OF KINGSTON-SUPER-HULL.

Hull, 4 Sept. 1665.



Thompson of Kingston-super-Hull.

ARMS:—Per fess Argent and Sable, a fess counter-embattled between three falcons, all counterchanged.

I. RICHARD THOMPSON, mar. Ann, dau. of William Langley, of Scarborough (Hunter's Minorum Gentium, ii, 531). They had issue—

1. *Christopher* (II).
2. *William Thompson, of Humbleton, in Holdernesse, died circa ann. 1630* (see Thompson, of Humbleton, Kilham, etc.).

II. *CHRISTOPHER THOMPSON, of Scarborough*, merchant; mar. Isabel, dau. of Edward Hutchinson, Esq., of Wykeham Abbey. They had issue—

1. *Timothy Thompson, died without issue.*
2. *Willm* (III).
3. *Robert Thompson, Citizen of London.*

III. *WILL'M THOMPSON, of Kingston-upon-Hull, died in a^o 1645*, bur. at Trinity Church 29 Sept. 1645; *mar. Elizabeth, daughter of George Pease, of Kingston-upon-Hull.* They had issue—

1. *Will'm* (IV).
2. *George Thompson, of Etton, in co. Ebor.*
3. *Isaac Thompson, a merchant in Rotterdam.*
4. *Benjamin Thompson, Citizen of London.*
1. *Anne, wife of Henry Blakeston, afterw^d of Jonas Youle, of Kingston-super-Hull.*
2. *Elizabeth, wife unto John Barker, of Louthe, in com. Linc.*
3. *Dorothy, wife unto William Moore, Citizen of London.*
4. *Rebecca, wife of . . . Swetnam.*

IV. *WILL'M THOMPSON, of Kingston-upon-Hull, æt. 45 an. 4 Sept. 1665; mar. Frances, daughter of . . . Ogle.* They had issue—

Elizabeth, æt. 16 ann. 4° Sept. a^o 1665.

Cholmley became a canon of Exeter in January, and subdean in March, 1632. He died on 15 September 1641 and was buried on 17 September in Exeter Cathedral. He was well off, leaving at least £622 as well as the remaining term of his lease of houses and grounds in Tiverton.

ELIZABETH ALLEN

Sources H. Burton, *The seven vials* (1628) • H. Burton, *Babel no Bethel* (1629) • A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: the Roman and protestant churches in English protestant thought, 1600–1640* (1995), 141–4 • J. Hall, *The olde religion: a treatise* (1628) • *DNB* • Venn, *Alum. Cant.* • J. Hall, *Works*, ed. P. Wynter, 12 vols. (1837–9), 1.xv–xvi; 9.424–5 • F. T. Colby, ed., *The visitation of the county of Devon in the year 1620*, Harleian Society, 6 (1872), 57 • PRO, PROB 11/187, fol. 370v • W. Harding, *The history of Tiverton*, 2 (1847), 101, 103, 110–11 • C. Cross, *The puritan earl: the life of Henry Hastings, third earl of Huntingdon* (1966), 124 • register, Tiverton, 1607, Devon RO [baptism] • *Fasti Angl.* (Hardy), 1.423

Archives N. Yorks. CRO, papers about family property

Wealth at death £622; remaining period of lease on houses and grounds; books; apparel: will, 3 Sept 1641, PRO, PROB 11/187, fol. 370v

(the other (late) line)

Cholmley, Sir Hugh, first baronet (1600–1657), royalist army officer and autobiographer, was born on 22 July 1600 at Roxby Castle, Thornton on the Hill (now Thornton Dale) in the North Riding of Yorkshire, the eldest son of Sir Richard Cholmley (1580–1631) and Susannah (1578–1611), daughter of John Legard of Ganton. The Yorkshire Cholmleys were a cadet branch of the Cheshire Cholmondeleys. Sir Hugh's great-great-grandfather, Sir Roger, was the first of the family to settle at Roxby Castle. The Cholmley estate was then mainly in Ryedale, but Sir Richard (II), Hugh's great-grandfather, shifted its centre to Whitby after buying most of the lands of Whitby Abbey, 26,000 acres in all, between 1540 and 1565.

In later life Cholmley wrote that the failure of a wet-nurse to nourish him sufficiently had robbed him of the height and robust physique of his forefathers. Cholmley was educated at Beverley grammar school (1611–13), Jesus College, Cambridge (1613–17), and Gray's Inn, London (1618–21). On 10 December 1622 he married Elizabeth Twisden (1600–1655), daughter of Sir William Twisden of Roydon Hall, East Peckham, Kent. Four of their children—William, Hugh, Ann, and Elizabeth—survived to adulthood.

Cholmley assumed responsibility for his father's estate

shire gentry's resistance to the war with the Scots. He and Sir John Hotham were warned by Charles 'in plane tearmes' that if they promoted any more petitions he would have them hanged (ibid., 25v). Nevertheless, on most issues that came before the Long Parliament Cholmley was at one with John Pym and the radicals: he welcomed the end of Star Chamber and the council of the North; he condemned monopolies, forced loans, and free billeting, as well as ship-money; and he had a small, vindictive part in the prosecution and death of Strafford. However, his expressions of loyalty to the king and queen were not well received in the Commons, and his active opposition to some religious clauses in the grand remonstrance identified him with what D'Ewes called 'the episcopall partie' (Coates, *D'Ewes Journal*, 152). On 10 August 1641 Cholmley accepted what was meant to be the bribe of a baronetcy; four other Yorkshiremen received the honour that month. At the time, no doubt, he regarded it as fully earned, yet it seems not to have influenced his later conduct and he did not refer to the title in his autobiography. In May 1642 he was chosen one of parliament's commissioners who met the king at York. The outbreak of civil war confronted Cholmley with a grievous dilemma. He objected to the militia ordinance because it seemed like an act of war against Charles, and he regarded the nineteen propositions as 'most uniust and unreasenable' (Cholmley's memoirs, fol. 26v). Yet most of his friends and relatives were already committe to parliament, whereas his political enemies, Straff 'creatures', had declared for the king (ibid., 26v). over, he was now convinced that the king was ad papists and militants. Finally reports of cavalie in Yorkshire persuaded him to accept Essex's c and parliament's order to hold Scarborough.

As governor of parliament's most norther Cholmley was remarkably successful. Despite preferences of the dominant Thompson fam control of Scarborough town and castle, raised about 500 soldiers, routed Slingsby's royal borough, and convinced London that he ac treacherously, in refusing to lead his forc Riding of Yorkshire. The queen's arrival f lands at York was only one factor in Chol

borough Castle for five months. He surrendered on his forty-fifth birthday only when his depleted garrison was dying of scurvy. He took ship from Bridlington rather than travel on to royalist Newark because he was exhausted and penniless and he had his dear wife and children to live for.

Cholmley reunited his family at Rouen, where he wrote his three memorials for Sir Edward Hyde; he returned to Whitby in 1649. His composition of £850 was light because before the war he had settled most of his estate on trustees. By opening a new alum mine at nearby Saltwick he was soon able to recover his fortune. In 1651, distrusted by many and detested by some, he was imprisoned for eight weeks in Leeds Castle, Kent. After his wife died in April 1655 he abandoned their home at Abbey House, Whitby, and spent the remainder of his life at Roydon Hall, Kent, where he wrote his memoirs, dedicated to Elizabeth and addressed to his sons. Cholmley was embarrassed by his parliamentarian record, in the house and on the battlefield, and minimized or even omitted it entirely from his autobiography, which was much franker about his forebears than himself. Because his memoirs were written for the privacy of his family it has been assumed that they were trustworthy; but Sir Hugh could not admit even to himself that he had acted basely towards Strafford and fought for parliament against the king's forces with standing energy and determination. He convinced more than lukewarm.

in 1626 and eventually rescued it from bankruptcy; he was knighted on 19 May 1626. He represented Scarborough in the last parliament of James I, the first two of Charles I, and in the Short and Long parliaments until disabled on 3 April 1643.

After Cholmley had opposed ship-money and excused himself from military service in the first bishops' war on account of a 'dangerous sickness' (Cholmley's memoirs, fol. 24r), his friend and patron, the earl of Strafford, slighted him in public; and when, in the Short Parliament, he challenged its legality he was deprived of all his commissions and reprimanded by the privy council. This bitter, irreconcilable rift with Strafford and not any quarrel with the king explains why Cholmley joined the 'opposition' party in 1640. That summer, as co-author of three petitions, he was leading spokesman of the Yorkshire gentry's resistance to the war with the Scots. He and Sir John Hotham were warned by Charles 'in plane tearmes' that if they promoted any more petitions he would have them hanged (ibid., 25v). Nevertheless, on most issues that came before the Long Parliament Cholmley was at one with John Pym and the radicals: he welcomed the end of Star Chamber and the council of the North; he condemned monopolies, forced loans, and free billeting, as well as ship-money; and he had a small, vindictive part in the prosecution and death of Strafford. However, his expressions of loyalty to the king and queen were not well received in the Commons, and his active opposition to some religious clauses in the grand remonstrance identified him with what D'Ewes called 'the episcopall partie' (Coates, *D'Ewes Journal*, 152). On 10 August 1641 Cholmley accepted what was meant to be the bribe of a baronetcy; four other Yorkshiremen received the honour that month. At the time, no doubt, he regarded it as fully earned, yet it seems not to have influenced his later conduct and he did not refer to the title in his autobiography. In May 1642 he was chosen one of parliament's commissioners who met the king at York. The outbreak of civil war confronted Cholmley with a grievous dilemma. He objected to the militia ordinance because it seemed like an act of war against Charles, and he regarded the nineteen propositions as 'most uniust and unreasenable' (Cholmley's memoirs, fol. 26v). Yet most of his friends and relatives were already committed to parliament, whereas his political enemies, Strafford's 'creatures', had declared for the king (ibid., 26v). Moreover, he was now convinced that the king was advised by

in March 1643. He was sickened by the slaughter at Guisborough, his first experience of battle; he was now sure that Pym, not Charles, was the warmonger; and he was deeply troubled as royalist cavalry rampaged over his estate. Only by going over to the king could he save his home, lands, tenants, and constituents from invasion and plunder. Whatever opportunism there might have been in Cholmley's change, his attachment to the king's cause grew in strength from then onwards. His second bloodless coup at Scarborough owed much to his humane and honourable conduct. After the disaster on Marston Moor he might easily have fled the country with Newcastle, but he refused to quit his post. The king's request that he hold Scarborough to the 'last extremity' he found irresistible (BL, Egerton MS 2884, fol. 41). Against the most powerful parliamentarian arms Cholmley withstood siege in Scarborough Castle for five months. He surrendered on his forty-fifth birthday only when his depleted garrison was dying of scurvy. He took ship from Bridlington rather than travel on to royalist Newark because he was exhausted and penniless and he had his dear wife and children to live for.

Cholmley reunited his family at Rouen, where he wrote his three memorials for Sir Edward Hyde; he returned to Whitby in 1649. His composition of £850 was light because before the war he had settled most of his estate on trustees. By opening a new alum mine at nearby Saltwick he was soon able to recover his fortune. In 1651, distrusted by many and detested by some, he was imprisoned for eight weeks in Leeds Castle, Kent. After his wife died in April 1655 he abandoned their home at Abbey House, Whitby, and spent the remainder of his life at Roydon Hall, Kent, where he wrote his memoirs, dedicated to Elizabeth and addressed to his sons. Cholmley was embarrassed by his parliamentarian record, in the house and on the battlefield, and minimized or even omitted it entirely from his autobiography, which was much franker about his forebears than himself. Because his memoirs were written for the privacy of his family it has been assumed that they were trustworthy; but Sir Hugh could not admit even to himself that he had acted basely towards Strafford and fought for parliament against the king's forces with outstanding energy and determination. He convinced himself that he was never more than lukewarm.

Sir Hugh Cholmley died at Roydon Hall, on 30 November 1657 and was buried next to his wife in the chancel of St Michael's Church, East Peckham, Kent. It was his wish

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Archives Bodl. Oxf., memorials, Clarendon MSS [copies] • N. Yorks. CRO, Scarborough corporation records, letters, estate papers, DC/SCB, ZPK • U. Hull, Cholmley of Howsham MSS, DCY • Whitby Museum, Whitby Literary and Philosophical Society Library, Cholmley estate records • York Minster Library, memoirs, Add. MS 343 [holograph] | Sheffield Central Library, Wentworth Woodhouse MSS, Strafford corresp., WWM

Likenesses portrait, *c.*1640, priv. coll. • Janssen, portrait, repro. in M. Bence-Jones, *The Cavaliers* (1976), 148–9; priv. coll.

Wealth at death small bequests: will, 19 Nov 1657, U. Hull, DCY 19/2; repr. in Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 9/248, pp. 163–4

Cholmley, Sir Roger (*c.*1485–1565), judge, was the illegitimate son of Sir Richard Cholmley (*d.* 1521) of Thorndon on the Hill, Yorkshire, sometime lieutenant of the Tower of London, who died without legitimate issue. Randle Cholmley (*d.* 1563), who was also by turn a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, serjeant-at-law, and recorder of London, was a cousin. Roger Cholmley was admitted to Lincoln's Inn

(Bowen Pedigree)

Averill Ancestors
Chart A 6 (g) 2

THE GENEALOGICAL DESCENTS OF THE PRINCES OF WALES.

"This table is taken from Rev. William Warrington's 'History of Wales.' It begins with Beli Mawr, father of Cassivelaunus, who opposed Cæsar. From that period the pedigrees are so corroborated by history and ancient MSS. as to leave no doubt of their authenticity." — W. OWEN.

It will be seen by an examination of this table that the Bowen family reach Beli Mawr, paternally, through Meurig, Tenesan, and Lludd; maternally, through the Griffiths of Penrhyn, by their intermarriages with the princes of South Wales, Powis, and North Wales, — South Wales through Howel Dda, Roderick the Great, and the Cunedda line; Powis, through Rhiwallon, Gaethfoed, and Casfardd Wledig, etc.

BELI MAWR,
King of Britain, 100 years B.C.

Lludd. — Caswallon or Cassivelaunus, the general who opposed Cæsar.

Casfardd Wledig.
Llari.
Runeydd.
Rhyw.
Power Lêw.
Frenddwyd.
Gwynnaw.
Teon.
Tegonwy.
Caenawg Mawr.
Corf.
Ceidio.
Varvsych.
Gwynawg.
Gwynan.
Tegonwy.
Lles Llwyddoch.
Cariadoch.
Gwyrdr hir.
Cloddien.
Gwaethfoed.

Aflech.
Asallach.
Owen. — Gwenddolan.
Brychwain.
Duwg.
Omwedd.
Anweryd.
Gwrddosyn.
Doswyn.
Gweddoli.
Doli.
Gwrgan.
Cayn.
Gwyddwg.
Iago.
Tegid.
Padarn Blifrudd.

Endos.
Enydd.
Endvrn.
Endigant.
Rhydderch.
Rhuddfedd.
Gradd.
Urban.
Tudbwyll.
Dehewant.
Tegsan Gloff.

Tenesan.
Cynvelyn, or Cunobelinus.
Gweirydd — Gwydyr.
Meirig.
Coel. — The Nursery Rhyme "Old King Cole"
Lles Lleusa Mawr, or Lucius.
Nynyaw.
Teathvallt.
Teudrig.
Meurig, king of Dyfed.

* Coel Godebog.

Edeyrn = Gwawl. — Cenan.

Cunedda Wledig. — Gworst.

Cedig. Caredig. Einion Yrth. Elidr. Meirchion.

Dewisant. Caswallon. Llywarch Hên. Cynvarch O're. = Ne- vyn Sant.

St. David. Maelgwn-Gwynedd. Diwg. Urien Rheged.

Ussa.
Seir Well.
Brothen.
Arnothen.
Artholes.
Clydawg.
Sitsyllt.
Dysnwal.
Meirig.

Rhunn.
Beli.
Iago.
Cadfan.
Cadwallon.
Cadwaladr.
Edwal Iwerch.
Rodri Molwynog.
Cynan Tindeathwy.
Essyllt = Merfin Frych.

Gwyar.
Tegid.
Alser.
Sandde.
Elidr.
Gwriad.

Pasgen.
Owen. Eliwri = Morgan Mawr.
Cyndeyrn or St. Kentigern.
Gwenllian.
Ednyfed Fychan.

Arthwrys.
Arthvael.
Rhys.
Howell.
Owen.
Blegwyrd.
Arthvael.
Meirig.
Pwyll Pendevig.
Gwynfardd Dyfed, the bard prince.

Angharad = Roderick the Great.

Merfin. — Anarawd. — Cadell.

Gwerystan.
Cynfyn, prince of Powis.
Rhiwallon, prince of Powis.
Gwladys (daughter and co-heir).

Gruffydd ab Cynan.
Susan, mar. Meredydd, prince of Powis, in the line of the Griffith family.

Howel Dda.
Owen.
Einion.
Tewdwr Mawr.

Gwladys (daughter of Rhiwallon), married Rhys ap Tewdwr.
→ Gwenllian (daughter of Gruffydd ap Cynan) = Gruffydd ap Rhys.

* Phillips Pedigree starts at this point.

Griffith Chart Starts Here

Bowen Chart Starts Here

Richard Bowen's Welsh Pedigree based on "Golden Grove" Genealogies Averill Ancestors + College of Arms in London - as per "Bowen Memorial."

PEDIGREE CHART

Name of Compiler: Norma Zaniewski

Address: 8924 W Plainfield

City, State: Greenfield WI 53228.

Date: Nov. 1994

Person No. 1 on this chart is the same person as No. 419 on chart No. A2.

Chart No. A6(a)

b. Date of Birth
p.b. Place of Birth
m. Date of Marriage
d. Date of Death
p.d. Place of Death

(11th gen)

(8th son of 17 children) (1676) Richard Bowen 1640 * Rehoboth
b. ca 1590 (Father of No. 2)
p.b. Llwyngwair
m. ca 1615? lived at Little Hill, Gower Peninsula, Glamorgan, Wales
p.m.
d. 1 Feb 1674/5
p.d. Rehoboth (Swansea) Plymouth Colony New England

2 (838) Richard Bowen II
b. ca 1622 (Father of No. 1)
p.b. Little Hill: Gower Peninsula, Wales
m. ① 4 Mar 1656
p.m. Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony
d. after 1675
p.d.

5 (1677) Ann (? Born)
(Mother of No. 2)
b. ca 1592?
p.b. Wales
d. before 1648
p.d. Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony

Fraternal

1 (419) Mary Bowen
b. 3 Oct 1666
p.b. Rehoboth
m. 31 Dec 1687
p.m. Rehoboth, Bristol Co., MA
d. 8 May 1694 (epidemic)
p.d. Rehoboth, Bristol Co, MA

6 (1678) John Sutton 1638 * "Diligent" Hingham
b. ca 1595 (Father of No. 3)
p.b. Attleborough, Norfolk Co, England
m. before 1621
p.m. Norfolk Co, Eng.
d. 1672
p.d. Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony

3 (839) Esther Sutton
(Mother of No. 1)
b. ca 1626
p.b. Attleborough? Norfolk Co, England
d. 1675
p.d. Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony

7 (1679) Julian
(Mother of No. 3)
b. ca 1600
p.b. Norfolk Co, Eng.
d. 4 June 1678
p.d. Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony

Maternal

(418) Phillip Walker
(Spouse of No. 1)
b. Mar 1661 d. 17 Feb 1739/40
p.b. Rehoboth, Ply. Colony p.d. Rehoboth, Bristol Co. MA (now R.I.)

8 (3352) James Bowen
b. 15 (Father of No. 4)
p.b. Llyngwair, Pembrokeshire, Wales
m. 15
p.m.
d.
p.d.

9 (3353) Eleanor Griffith
(Mother of No. 4)
b.
p.b. of Richley, Anglesey
d. the Grafts had 10 sons + 7 daughters
p.d. Llyngwair

10 (3354) Born?
(Father of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

11 (3355)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

12 (3356)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

13 (3357)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

14
(Father of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

15
(Mother of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

(13th / 14th generation)

16 (6704) Mathias Bowen
b. (Father of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. A6(b))
m. of Llwingwair
d.

17 (6705) Mary Phillips
b. Picton Castle (Mother of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. A6(c))

18 (6706) John Griffith of Richley, Anglesey
Son of (13,412) William Griffith, Knight
b. and (13,413) Jane Stradling
m.
d.

19 (6707) Mary Wynn, dau of
b. (13,414) Meredith Wynn of Evan who purchased Gwydir Mansion
d. (Mary's brother was Sir James Wynn, the historian)

Not Correct

Chart A6d
Chart A6e

20
b. (Father of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. ____)
m.
d.

21
b. (Mother of No. 10, Cont. on chart No. ____)
d.

Many books said this Richard Bowen's lineage but it proved not to be so!

27
b. (Mother of No. 13, Cont. on chart No. ____)
d.

28
b. (Father of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. ____)
m.
d.

29
b. (Mother of No. 14, Cont. on chart No. ____)
d.

30
b. (Father of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. ____)
m.
d.

31
b. (Mother of No. 15, Cont. on chart No. ____)
d.

This appears to be the oldest child (William) of the earliest John D Vest + Ann Baker and father of Charles Vest (Stokes C. NC Heritage article). See Family Group Sheet #1 from Billie Pringle below on other Group Sheets clipped from material she mailed.

Levi VEST
Born: 1807 , Rockbridge Co., VA.
Mar.: 14 Aug 1834 Lexington, Rockbridge Co., VA. ← Levi
Died: , Rockbridge Co., VA.
Sex: M AFN: 8NV6-1B
Father: Andrew Charles VEST
Mother: Martha ADDISON

_Levi VEST_____
+ Eliz. Bias had
George W. VEST
Sp: N A. CAMDEN

Benjamin VEST
Sp: Susanah NEASE

Elizabeth BIAS

_Andrew C VEST__
Charles E VEST _William VEST (John D Vest) _Lucy ALFORD (Ann Baker)
_Sarah BRIGGS___
Martha ADDISON

_Obediah BIAS___

_V KINNARD_____

Husband: William VEST ..... 1735 N CAROLINA
Wife: Lucy ALFORD ..... 1737 N CAROLINA
couple upper right

Children

1. William VEST ..... 1755 N CAROLINA
2. Samuel VEST ..... 1757 N CAROLINA
3. Samuel VEST ..... 1759 VIRGINIA
4. Charles Erwin VEST ..... 1759 N CAROLINA
5. Charles S. VEST ..... 1763 VIRGINIA
6. Isham VEST ..... 1763 N CAROLINA
7. John VEST ..... 1765 VIRGINIA
8. Isham VEST ..... 1766 N CAROLINA
9. Elizabeth VEST ..... 1767 VIRGINIA
10. Mary VEST ..... 1769 VIRGINIA

BORN
Husband: Charles VEST . 1738
Wife: See above right (Sarah Briggs?)

Children

1. Louisa VEST ..... 1761 VIRGINIA

Husband: Charles Erwin VEST . Child 2 ..... 1759 N CAROLINA
Wife: Sarah BRIGGS ..... [1761]

Children

1. Andrew Charles VEST ..... See right ..... 1777 N CAROLINA

Child 6?
Husband: Isham VEST .... (m/ Fanny Briggs b 1763 - ch not listed) ..... 1766 N CAROLINA
Wife: Nancy PLEDGE ..... (second wife?) ..... [1768]

Children

1. Frances P. VEST ..... 1802 N CAROLINA
2. Tabitha VEST ..... [1804]
3. Luvitha VEST ..... [1806]

Husband: Andrew Charles VEST . 1777 N CAROLINA
Wife: Martha ADDISON ..... 1784 N CAROLINA

Children

1. Addison VEST (OR) VESS ... 1804 VIRGINIA
2. George VEST ..... 1805 VIRGINIA
3. Levi VEST ..... 1807 VIRGINIA
4. William VEST ..... 1808 VIRGINIA
5. Hiram VEST ..... 1810 VIRGINIA
6. Julianna VEST ..... 1813 VIRGINIA
7. Andrew Charles VEST ..... 1813 VIRGINIA
8. Indus VEST ..... 1814 VIRGINIA
9. Samuel VEST (OR) VESS .... 1815 VIRGINIA
10. Margaret VEST ..... 1817 VIRGINIA

Richard Bowen's Welsh Pedigree based on "Golden Grove" Genealogies Averill Ancestors + College of Arms in London - as per "Bowen Memorial."

PEDIGREE CHART

Name of Compiler: Norma Zaniewski

Address: 8924 W Plainfield

City, State: Greenfield WI 53228.

Date: Nov. 1994

Person No. 1 on this chart is the same person as No. 419 on chart No. A2. (12th gen)

(13th / 14th generations) Chart No. A6(a)

b. Date of Birth
p.b. Place of Birth
m. Date of Marriage
d. Date of Death
p.d. Place of Death

(11th gen)

(8th son of 17 children) (1676) Richard Bowen — 1640 * Rehoboth
b. ca 1590 (Father of No. 2)
p.b. Llwyngwair
m. ca 1615? lived at Little Hill, Gower Peninsula, Glamorgan, Wales
p.m.
d. 1 Feb 1674/5
p.d. Rehoboth (Swansea) Plymouth Colony New England

2 (838) Richard Bowen II
b. ca 1622 (Father of No. 1)
p.b. Little Hill: Gower Peninsula, Wales
m. ① 4 Mar 1656
p.m. Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony
d. after 1675
p.d.

5 (1677) Ann (? Born)
(Mother of No. 2)
b. ca 1592?
p.b. Wales
d. before 1648
p.d. Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony

Fraternal

1 (419) Mary Bowen
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p.b. Rehoboth
m. 31 Dec 1687
p.m. Rehoboth, Bristol Co., MA
d. 8 May 1694 (epidemic)
p.d. Rehoboth, Bristol Co, MA

6 (1678) John Sutton — 1638 * "Diligent" Hingham
b. ca 1595 (Father of No. 3)
p.b. Attleborough, Norfolk Co, England
m. before 1621
p.m. Norfolk Co, Eng.
d. 1672
p.d. Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony

3 (839) Esther Sutton
(Mother of No. 1)
b. ca 1626
p.b. Attleborough? Norfolk Co, England
d. 1675
p.d. Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony

7 (1679) Julian
(Mother of No. 3)
b. ca 1600
p.b. Norfolk Co, Eng.
d. 4 June 1678
p.d. Rehoboth, Plymouth Colony

(418) Philip Walker
(Spouse of No. 1)
b. Mar 1661 d. 17 Feb 1739/40
p.b. Rehoboth, Ply. Colony p.d. Rehoboth, Bristol Co. MA

Maternal

8 (3352) James Bowen
b. 15 (Father of No. 4)
p.b. Llyngwair, Pembrokeshire, Wales
m. 15
p.m.
d.
p.d.

9 (3353) Eleanor Griffith
(Mother of No. 4)
b.
p.b. of Richley, Anglesey
d. the Cropler, had 10 sons + 7 daughters
p.d. Llyngwair

10 (3354) Born ?
b. (Father of No. 5)
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

11 (3355)
(Mother of No. 5)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

12 (3356) Henry Sutton
(Father of No. 6)
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

13 (3357)
b.
p.b.
d.
p.d.

14
b.
p.b.
m.
p.m.
d.
p.d.

15
(Mother of No. 7)
b.
p.b.
d. E. Providence
p.d. (now Rhode Is)

16 (6704) Mathias Bowen
b. (Father of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. A6(b))
m. of Llingwair
d.

17 (6705) Mary Phillips
b. Picton Castle (Mother of No. 8, Cont. on chart No. A6(c))

18 (6706) John Griffith of Richley, Anglesey, son of (13,412) William Griffith, Knight
b. and (13,413) Jane Stradling — Chart A6d, Chart A6e
m.
d.

19 (6707) Mary Wynn, dau of
b. (13,414) Meredith Wynn of Evan who purchased Gwydir Mansion
d. (Mary's brother was Sir James Wynn, the historian)

20
b. (Father of No. 10, Cont. on chart No.
m.
d.

21
(Mother of No. 10, Cont. on chart No.
b.
d.

22
b. (Father of No. 11, Cont. on chart No.
m.
d.

23
(Mother of No. 11, Cont. on chart No.
b.
d.

24 (6712) Theron Sutton
b. (Father of No. 12, Cont. on chart No.
m.
d.

25
(Mother of No. 12, Cont. on chart No.
b.
d.

26
(Father of No. 13, Cont. on chart No.

(Mother of No. 13, Cont. on chart No.

(Father of No. 14, Cont. on chart No.

(Mother of No. 14, Cont. on chart No.

(Father of No. 15, Cont. on chart No.

31
(Mother of No. 15, Cont. on chart No.
b.
d.

Not Correct

This appears to be the oldest child (William) of the earliest John D Vest + Ann Baker and father of Charles Vest (Stoker B. NC Heritage article). See Family Group Sheet #1 from Billie Pringle below on LDS Group Sheets clipped from material she mailed.

Levi VEST
Born: 1807 , Rockbridge Co., VA.
Mar.: 14 Aug 1834 Lexington, Rockbridge Co., VA. ← Levi
Died: , Rockbridge Co., VA.
Sex: M AFN: 8NV6-1B
Father: Andrew Charles VEST
Mother: Martha ADDISON

_Levi VEST_____
+ Eliz. Bias had
George W. VEST
Sp: N A. CAMDEN

Benjamin VEST
Sp: Susanah NEASE

_Andrew C VEST__
Charles E VEST
_William VEST (John D Vest / Ann Baker)
_Lucy ALFORD
_Sarah BRIGGS___
_____
_____
_____
Martha ADDISON
_____
_____

Elizabeth BIAS
_Obediah BIAS___
_____
_____
_____
_____
_V KINNARD_____
_____
_____

Husband: William VEST	1735	N CAROLINA
Wife: Lucy ALFORD	1737	N CAROLINA

couple upper right

Children

1. William VEST	1755	N CAROLINA
2. Samuel VEST	1757	N CAROLINA
3. Samuel VEST	1759	VIRGINIA
4. Charles Erwin VEST	1759	N CAROLINA
5. Charles S. VEST	1763	VIRGINIA
6. Isham VEST	1763	N CAROLINA
7. John VEST	1765	VIRGINIA
8. Isham VEST	1766	N CAROLINA
9. Elizabeth VEST	1767	VIRGINIA
10. Mary VEST	1769	VIRGINIA

	BORN	
Husband: Charles VEST	1738	
Wife:		

See other right (Sarah Briggs?)

Children

1. Louisa VEST	1761	VIRGINIA

Husband: Charles Erwin VEST . Child 2	1759	N CAROLINA
Wife: Sarah BRIGGS	[1761]	

Children

1. Andrew Charles VEST ..... See right	1777	N CAROLINA

Husband: Andrew Charles VEST .	1777	N CAROLINA
Wife: Martha ADDISON	1784	N CAROLINA

Children

1. Addison VEST (OR) VESS	1804	VIRGINIA
2. George VEST	1805	VIRGINIA
3. Levi VEST	1807	VIRGINIA
4. William VEST	1808	VIRGINIA
5. Hiram VEST	1810	VIRGINIA
6. Julianna VEST	1813	VIRGINIA
7. Andrew Charles VEST	1813	VIRGINIA
8. Indus VEST	1814	VIRGINIA
9. Samuel VEST (OR) VESS	1815	VIRGINIA
10. Margaret VEST	1817	VIRGINIA

Child 6?

Husband: Isham VEST (m/ Fanny Briggs b 1763 - ch not listed)	1766	N CAROLINA
Wife: Nancy PLEDGE (second wife?)	[1768]	

Children

1. Frances P. VEST	1802	N CAROLINA
2. Tabitha VEST	[1804]	
3. Luvitha VEST	[1806]	

Whoever George Vest of Ky was, his descendants become prominent. There are discrepancies in these charts!

The following conflicts with Group Sheet # in that it claims George W Vest Sr. was son of William Vest & Sally _____ rather than John D & Ann

	BORN	
Husband: George W. VEST JR.	1789	VIRGINIA
Wife: Elinore (Or Elinder) EMMETT	1791	KENTUCKY

Children

1. Elizabeth VEST	1813	KENTUCKY
2. Fielding VEST	1816	KENTUCKY
3. Eliza VEST	1820	KENTUCKY
4. Aletha Ann VEST	1823	KENTUCKY
5. Dora VEST	1825	KENTUCKY
6. James VEST	1828	KENTUCKY

George W. VEST SR.
Born: May 1760 Pittslyvaina Co. Va.
Mar.:
Died: 22 Feb 1845 Boone Co. Ky
Sex: M AFN: 1B2B-WX
Father: William VEST
Mother: Sally

William VEST
George W. VEST (above)
_Sally_____
George W. VEST b. 1789 Va (not copied) (See left)
_____
_____
_____

- Aletha Ann VEST
Sp: Andrew J POOLE

Husband: George W. VEST	1806	KENTUCKY
Wife: Jerusha (VEST)	1808	KENTUCKY

(How does this fit in with above?)

Children

1. Margaret E. VEST	1832	KENTUCKY
2. Ava F. VEST	1837	KENTUCKY
3. John W. VEST	1838	KENTUCKY
4. George W. VEST	1840	
5. James M. VEST	1842	KENTUCKY
6. Jerusha T. VEST	1843	INDIANA
7. Lucy Ann VEST	1845	
8. Harriet E. VEST	1848	INDIANA

VEST

Clayton (Vest)

Abraham and Rachel (Dacus) Jones

Vest

Is this "our" Abraham Jones who m Rachel? Deeds in his GC & SS? Dx Book (VA) says arising in Kfax in W. Grayson Co & flows into New River not far from NW Alleghany Co NC. (Thus Bing SB (Pinetree fork not listed) This is way west of Patrick S! This is East of Crossingh Co VA.

GRAYSON COUNTY, VIRGINIA, DEED BOOK NO. 1
1793-1803

Published by
TLC Genealogy
P.O. Box 403369
Miami Beach, FL 33140-1369

Page 42. Apr 25, 1796 from Abraham Jones and Rachel, his wife, of G, to Shadrach Greer of G, for 70 £, one certain tract of land containing 172 acres by survey, lying in Montgomery [County] now G, on both sides of Big Fox Cr, a branch of New River, and bounded by the branch of the Cr. Signed - Abraham Jones. Wit - none. At Apr 26, 1796 Court, ack. and OR 9

Page 44. Apr 1, 1796 from John Bryant of G, to John Wells of G, for 500 £, one certain tract of land containing about 128 acres in G on Meadow Cr, and bounded by the bank of Meadow Cr. Signed - John Bryant, Lydia Bryant. Wit - Moses Foley, William Jones, Timothy Murphy, John Murphy. At Apr 27, 1796 Court, ack. by John Bryant and Lydia, his wife, and OR.

Page 165. Dec 8, 1797 from Thomas Jones of Franklin County, to Abraham Jones of G, for 200 £, one certain tract of land containing about 307 acres in G on Pinetree fork of Fox Cr, and bounded by a stony point by the Cr, a branch, crossing the Cr. Signed - Thomas Jones. Wit - Shadrach Greer, Aquilla Greer, David Pugh, George Helm, Isaiah Jones, Daniel Jones. At Apr Court 1798, proven by Shadrach Greer, Aquilla Greer, and Daniel Jones and OR. 23

Page 456. Apr 20, 1802 from Abraham Jones and Rachel, his wife, of G, to Shadrach Greer of G, for $200, one certain tract of land cut off from Abraham Jones' survey of 307 acres, bounded by a south point by the Cr corner to sd Abraham Jones' survey that was assigned to him by Thomas Jones. Signed - Abrm Jones. Wit - none. Apr Court 1802, ack. by sd Abraham and OR.

(2)

Bedford Co.
Deed Book 3 of Sent (1762)
Wm Dudley, Jas Hager & Phillip Vest, Exs for
Judith Vest,

page 154
(1749) Valentine Vest (sued by — for debt
for Thomas Dudley. ~~Sheriff~~ Sheriff has had
absconded. ~~[illegible]~~
where items ~~[illegible]~~ by sheriff.

an 1750 James Vest ~~[illegible]~~ sued & paid.

June ~~[illegible]~~ 1750 James absconded but items taken by
he left + went to future Powhatan
Valentine ~~[illegible]~~ for same fine died.
wife Elizabeth Vest. ~~Estate~~ Estate in Sept
November by now Elizabeth ~~[illegible]~~ ALLRUSH

1777 Powhatan Co. ~~[illegible]~~ taken from Cumberland & some
& Chesterfield. By ~~then~~ then some Vests may
have gone west (but called themselves born there &
saying ~~[illegible]~~ they were from there)

Valentine Vest b ca 1690?
(m. Elizabeth (shela?))
he d. 1750

(son) James Vest ~~[illegible]~~ soon after
~~to~~ family went to — (later called Powhatan Co.)
(born ca 1720). Wife Lucretia ( )
~~He had~~ Brothers + sisters ~~[illegible]~~ most here left earlier

Phillip (wife Judith) was in Bedford ( ) 1762
Valentine Vest (there?) 1749

Edward Davison m. Agnes

(1)

James West Sr +
James Jr + George West sons
Devise Mary Davison Will

20 Sept 1780.

next year (before April 1793) witnesses
in court ~~James Sr was dec.~~ wif:
James West Jr + Wm Harris in court.

5 June 1794 - Edward Davison (father of above)
(will 14 Aug 1793) carpenter (to scribe Frank Cox)
grandson John Benning Davison
son Charles Davison
daughters ___ wife of John Kitchen
Agnes Sr. ___ wife of John West (2 grs in Rev. warriors, & taxing in
___ wife of Moses Webb
Rachel ___ wife of Abraham Jones
Jeany wife James West
youngest dau Sarah Davison b. m. John LeMasters

(1744) Edward Davison & wife Agnes Mosby D.
about 30 years old } sued Jacob Mosby.
(Goochland) later Cumberland but the court
was in future Prince Edward Co.
Edward Davison born 1720 aso}

Sister over 1744 Mary Leigh in court
Jan 1750 in Lunenburg ~~Co~~ Co. VA

James & John Vests March Mosby 1751

1744 Salvator Alfred ~~Co~~ (Goochland) sued plantation

Bedford Co. 1754 (a large area)
Book ~~Book~~ I

1759 Childress
1760 Denny, Brown, ~~[illegible]~~ Alfred, Vest + Dudley
(they came there 1759 from Cumberland).
Scraggs (from there) sell land to Kitchen 1766.

Book 3 -
Phillip Vest in court Dec. 1763

Sept 1767 Denny sold no. of starter R (capital)

Deed Book 3 - Sept 1767
Dudley, Trey: Phillip Vest (wife Judith)

Will Book 1 bill of Salvator ~~[illegible]~~ Alfred (b ca 1690s)

Nov. 1777
dau. Judith ~~[illegible]~~ after m. Phillip Vest
dau Lucy m. Vest) + 3 others
land to son Wm. Alfred

(17 58)

To bacco

Luis Oring	6	Wm. [Charl?]wood	1
Wm. Smith	1	Isham Akin	3
John Richards	3	Thos. Blow	3
Richard Ligon	7	John Radford	2
John Baskervale	16	John Radford [?]	1
Archer Hix	15	Walter Maxey	3
Walter Lee	8	Benuamien Hatcher	3
Mrs. Mayo	9	Hugh Mecargo	1
Daniel Stoner	16	Wm. Dove	5
Jacob Mishew	7	Peter Sublett	3
Fras. James	12	Lodowick Ealem	2
Mrs. Hughes	6	Abram Baugh	2
John Hughes	6	Edward Watkins	7
Henry Hopson	4	Isrell Winfree	4
Wm. Dudley	14	Joseph Baugh	5
(Philip) Vater Alford	2	Christofer Baley	2
{hil Vest	1	Henry More	3
Wm. Leeg	1	WilloabybPugh	1
Joseph Johns	1	James Baley	1
Branch Good	10	Jurden Anderson	2
Archers quarter	3	Charles Maxey	1
Samuell Flournoy	15	James Smith	2
Thos. Turpin	11	Peter Loockodwo	4
Wm. Maxey	4	John Pleasantsd	17
David Lesure	4	Thos. Wilkins	4
Joseph Bingley	4	William Watson	1
John Depoy	10	Thos. Porter	7

Cumberland County Sct.

Thomas Wooldridge Came before me this day and made Oath that th. several Popple above Mentioned he Went to their Several Tobo. Grounds twice this Year and Search them According to Law the Whole Amounting to 523 Tithables.

Given under my hand the 2d. day of December 1758

Tho. Prosser

TWO CUMBERLAND COUNTY

TITHABLE LISTS, 1758, 1760

These lists, dated one year prior to and one year after the 1759 tithable lists which were published in *The Southside Virginian*, v. 2, pp. 111-13, 156-57, and v. 3, pp. 32-34, contain significant differences from the other lists indicating a shifting population.

1758

A list of tithes Whare I took tobacco [Surveys?]

Peter Harris	6	Edward Mosley	14
Samuel Wever	3	John Mosley	5
Peter David	3	Thos. Mosley	4
Benuamen Wever	2	Wm. Clay	3
John Chasteen	2	Henry Clay	8
Wm. Canaday	1	Abrm. North	9
Charles Aminett	1	John North	13
Wm. Howard	1	Mr. Eagelstone	34
Thos. Smith	8	Arter Mosley	11
John Burner	2	Richard Mosley	4
Charles Clark	3	Thos. Hall	3
Abrm. Salle	8	Daniel [Pearman?]	5
John Lewillion	9	John Porter	3
James Harris	12	Thos. Bradley	2
Ben Harris	9	Richard [Pembelton?]	1
John Scott	11	Wm. Haris	9
Josiah Hatcher	8	James Holman	13
Samuel Landrom	2	George Smith	-
Wm. Banten	4	Wm. Haris	5
Matthew Bingley	3	John Haris	18
Daniel Branch	3	Thos. Proser	9
James Briant	7	John Cox	4
Creed Haskins	8	Thos. Hamblett	10
Georg Hancock	4	Richard Povall	9
Thos. Lockett	3	Nick Giles	3
Wm. Marshall	6	Hickenson Cox	5
Fras. Marshall	6	Phillip James	5

(To left)

The rulers of England

Name	Reign
Saxons	
* Egbert	802-839
Ethelwulf	839-858
Ethelbald	858-860
Ethelbert	860-865?
Ethelred I	865?-871
* Alfred the Great	871-899
Edward the Elder	899-924
Athelstan	924-939
Edmund I	939-946
Edred	946-955
Edwig	955-959
Edgar	959-975
Edward the Martyr	975-978?
Ethelred II	978?-1016
Edmund II	1016
Danes	
* Canute	1016-1035
* Harold I	1035-1040
Hardecanute	1040-1042
Saxons	
* Edward the Confessor	1042-1066
* Harold II	1066
Normans	
* William I	1066-1087
* William II	1087-1100
* Henry I	1100-1135
* Stephen	1135-1154
Plantagenet Family	
* Henry II	1154-1189
* Richard I	1189-1199
* John	1199-1216
* Henry III	1216-1272
* Edward I	1272-1307
* Edward II	1307-1327
* Edward III	1327-1377
* Richard II	1377-1399

Name	Reign
House of Lancaster	
* Henry IV	1399-1413
* Henry V	1413-1422
* Henry VI	1422-1461
House of York	
* Edward IV	1461-1470
House of Lancaster	
* Henry VI	1470-1471
House of York	
* Edward IV	1471-1483
* Edward V	1483
* Richard III	1483-1485
House of Tudor	
* Henry VII	1485-1509
* Henry VIII	1509-1547
* Edward VI	1547-1553
* Grey, Lady Jane	1553
* Mary I	1553-1558
* Elizabeth I	1558-1603
House of Stuart	
* James I	1603-1625
* Charles I	1625-1649
Commonwealth	
* Long Parliament	1649-1653
Protectorate	
* Oliver Cromwell	1653-1658
Richard Cromwell	1658-1659
House of Stuart	
* Charles II	1660-1685
* James II	1685-1688
* William III	1689-1702
and *Mary II	1689-1694
* Anne	1702-1714

(For monarchs after 1714, see Great Britain.)

*Has a separate article in *World Book*.

Our Whites and our Griffiths were pioneer settlers in SW Wisconsin — at first Grant Co. near the Mississippi River directly across Clayton Co — Millville where the Griffiths settled down — as did Rev. Benny White who married John Griffith's daughter. After she died (about 29 years old as did his daughter from a first marriage, he moved with sole surviving child, John Wesley White to Grant Co. where he married third wife

and John, about 20 worked as a lead miner briefly then fought in the Civil War. On his discharge he, too, became a minister, went west to Boone Co IA where married Sarah Jane Averill, a member of the Congregation. Both White families, father + son's wives moved with the Averills to Miami Co. KS about 1867/8.

In a few years Benny moved back to nearby Crawford Co. WI then it opened up for settlement and raised a large family.

Earlier during the Black Hawk War in IL + SE WI the Averill family members, then living in SE Iowa in the Black Hawk War, also tried out the lead mines in the area to make a quick buck.

~~Three~~ Four separate family groups of ours lived in IOWA

Hansens in Plymouth County etc.

Griffiths in Clayton Co.

Whites in Clayton Co. ~~then with~~

Griffiths, then to the the Averills in Boone, ill then to Kansas then to Crawford Co WI

Averills from IL to Webster + Boon Co, Then to Miami Co Kansas

WHITE
GRIFFITH
CLAYTON
AVERILL
in Iowa

Mt Zion Union Hill Cemetery

Van Natta, Cleo, dau of H&E 1899-192

Van Natta, Inf Dau of Harvey 1914-1914

Vopalensky, Joseph 1872-1961

Vopalensky, Mary 1881-1965

Vopalensky, Mary Grandma 1851-1936

Vopalensky, Anton, Grandpa 1846-1934

Vopalensky, Mary Sister 1881-1902

Walton, Joseph Harold 1931-1942
(son of Agnes & Paul)

Walton, Jerod H. 1933-1934

Walton, William B. 1930-1932

Walton, Willmina 1882-1882
(dau of WF & FM)

Walton, William F. 1856-1882

Walton, W.B. 1816-1887

Walton, C.L. 1854-1919

Walton, S.J. 1827-1905

Walton, Francis E. 1862-1928

Walton, Lois C. White 1862-1939

Walton, Charles 1900-1900

Walton, Ann P. 1899-1967

Walton, Joseph Ezra 1869-1863

Walton, Emma M. White 1870-1955

Walton, Baby

Ward, Betty Jean 1925-1932

Ward, Lavon Pvt 1931-1952
(Army Engr Hq Co 23 Korea)

Ward, Walter Henry 1887-1958

Ward, Sadie O. Bell 1889-

Watson, Bernard Lee 1879-1940

Watson, Mary P. 1851-1876

Watson, Lester C. 1888-1949

Watson, Blanche Kast 1890-1951

Welch, Frank

West, James 1877-

West, 1873-

Ward, Alice Vopalensky 1885-1935

White, Barney 1815-1899

White, Martha 1836-1899

White, Orin 1863-1941

Wilkinson, Lester Leroy 1907-1966

Wilkinson, Cleota 1910-

Wilkinson, Judson W. 1877-1962

Wilkinson, Emaline Gray 1880-1948

Wilkinson, Bernice 1912-1912

Wilkinson, Sarah 1879-1948

Withee, D.M.

Wilt, Mary E. 1872-1960

Wilt, Mary

Wilt, Charles

Wilt, William

Wood, Samuel Pvt Co G 1831-1965
(4 Wi Inf C W)
Wood, Wf of Sam

Wright, T.J. 1871

Book says this is "¼ mi East of Mt Zion on West by Methodist Church."

Lawrence, Fay Floyd 1890-1951

Lenox, Wesley 1834-1900

Lenox, C.P. 1831-1892

Lightfoot, Minnie 1869-1903

Lightfoot, Ida H. 1878-1895

Lightfoot, William H. 1884-1966

son of

Lightfoot, Wm E. J & D 1893-1893

dau of

Lightfoot, Emma J & L -1918

Lightfoot, Charles

Lightfoot, Henry 1902-1975

Lightfoot, Wm S. 1845-1918

Lightfoot, Patience 1849-1933

Wf of

Lightfoot, Lyda B. J. 1887-1924

Lightfoot, James 1870-1934

Lomas, Earl 24yrs 1938-1962

Lomas, Jim 1944-1944

Lomas, Jule 1894-1968

Lomas, Hazel Wilkinson 1906-1973

Lenox,

Mars, William B 1854-1862

Mars, May C. 1800-1862

Mars, Catherine

Markin, Mary E. 1868-1951

Markin, Charles W. 1868-1943

Markin, Son of Lee

Markin, Dau of Chas 1908-1910

(& Nellie)

Martin, L.O.

Martin, V[illegible]r, 1895-1938

Martin, Garnie 1897-

Masilko, Matt —1915

Masilko, Mary

McBurney, Selma (Zelma) 1892-1893

McBurney, William L.

McCullick, Otto 1908-1977

McCullick, Marie 1908-

McDaniel, Herbert H. 1928-1939

McDaniel, John W. 1883-1950

McDaniel, Blanche A. 1891-1963

McDaniel, Leroy R. P. 1888-1939

McDaniel, Dallas N. 1914-1918

McDaniel, Gladys M. 1887-1968

McDaniel, Olive A. 1862-1916

McDaniel, John L. 1861-1945

McDaniel, Edward E. Pvt 1896-1938

(335 Tank Corp W W 1)

McDaniel, Edward B, 1894-1899

McDaniel, Maude M. 1891-1970

McDaniel, Zelpha L. 1893-1967

McDougal, Darwin 1852-1937

McDougal, Lucinda E. 1856-1956

(Ella Daugherty)

McDowell, Wilbert M. 1855-1929

McDowell, Elizabeth 1862-1953

McDowell, Orley 1883-1939

McDowell, Chester A. 1893-1893

McMahon, Lorenze 1919-1939

McMahon, Michael 1893-1947

McMahon, Alta 1895-1975

McMahon, Patrick L. 1938-1968

McDowell, Sarah M. 1825-1901

(Wf of Wm)

Meade,

Meade, Dolah Ashmore 1908-1969

Meade, Milford

Mitchell, Jennie 1884-1939

Mitchell, Infant Son

Mitchel, George 1866-1930

Mitchell, Charlotte L. 1870-1900

(Coalburn)

Mitchell, O.M. 1824-1902

Mitchell, Ellen Wf 1825-1903

Mitchell, Ethel Z. 1879-1950

Mitchell, Vetice A. 1872-1954

Mitchell, Glen O. 1909-1937

Mitchell, Viola Anna 1873-1960

Mitchell, Charles A. 1848-1918

1851-1935

Mitchell, Viola Winston

Mitchell, Zacariah Pvt

(Co C. 1 Nevada C W)

Mitchell, Jackiral 1842-1896

(Co F. 53 Ill Inf C W)

Mitchell, Lucy M. 1837-1909

(Wf of Jackiral)

Miller, Oliver 1900-1961

(Andrew M White (1876-) m. 16 Feb 1896 Bertha V. Lightfoot)

(Lightfoot burial is Mt Zion Union Hill Cemetery Twp of Scott-Crawford Co Ill)

Miller, Elizabeth

dau of

Miller, Amanda G & E

Miller, Charles F.

Mindham, Gertie A.

Mindham, Bennie J.

Mindham, Dau of Wm

Mindham, Mertie M.

Mindham, Mertie

Mindham, Harold

Mindham, Robert

Mindham, Wm Cpl

(Co.B. 33 Wi Inf C W

Wf

Mindham, Lha Wm

Mindham, B.J.

Mindham, Margaret

Moore, Samuel J.

Mullikin, Mark M.

Mullikin, David G

Mullikin, Elizabe

(Oaks Fitzgeral

Mullikin, Inf Child

John & Matilda)

Mullikin, 3 Childre

(Gilbert & Gladys

Mullikin, Gladys F

Mullikin, John

Mullikin, Matilda

(Br

Book name - No Author listed

"Cemetery Records of Crawford County Wisconsin"

(White)

F587 C8C45 (1990?) SFS - Madison WI

Read 3/27/95 mg

Mt Zion Union Hill Cemetery (p. 12) (" book says location is "by the East - on W by Methodist Church" (Town of Scott - Mt. Zion)

White, Benny 1815 - 1899
" "Martha" 1836 - 1899
" Orin 1863 - 1941
Walton, Francis E 1863-1928 m 3/27/1889
" Lois C. White 1862 - 1939
" Joseph Ezra 1865-1865-1863
" Emma M White 1870-1955 m 4/26/1899
" Baby - no dates
" Ann J 1875-1967
Charles 1850 - 1900
J. J. 1827-1905
C L 1854-1917
W B 1816-1887
William J 1856-1882
William 1882-1882 (dau O & F M)
William B 1854 - 1854
Joseph H 1838-1854
Joseph Harold 1831-1844 (son Benny & Ann)

(in this cemetery No burials of women with first name Hannah or Jennie right up to the White dates.)

I still cannot determine whether Jennie Mae & or Hannah G. White died or married before 1899. It seems likely one died, or married - not shown in records. Perhaps Richland Co.

Happened the children in Benny's family were held to a very high standard, like his son, John W's! So any marriage should have been in that church.

No Gibbs, Cosby, Greenfield

Lightfoot (p6) = Minnie 1854-1943
Ida M 1858-1895
William H 1854-1866
Wm E Sr Jr 1853-1923
Emma dau J & L -1918
Charles —
Henry 1852-1875
Wm J 1855-1858
Adriana 1859-1888
Lydia wife JN 1857-1884
Jonas 1870-1884

Andrew White (1856 -) m 12 Feb 1886 Bertha J. Lightfoot.

It does not appear they stayed in the vicinity - maybe not even in the County.

Page 12

Billie - If you ever want to gather these graves and in that cemetery. I intend to go this summer & take a car. Connect Mag Stay in middle of Viroqua to Fort Millville Iowa also. Dan

See map Right - these directions not too clear but I think if you go north on Highway 61 to Mt Zion & then turn right at a fork road, go 1/2 mi East this would be just E of the church.

3/27/95

Dan Natta. 111 Dan St Mazo ...

alensky, Joseph 1872-1961

Vopalensky, Mary 1881-1965

Vopalensky, Mary Grandma 1851-1936

Vopalensky, Anton, Grandpa 1846-1934

Vopalensky, Mary Sister 1881-1902

Walton, Joseph Harold 1931-1942
(son of Agnes & Paul)

Walton, Jerod H. 1933-1934

Walton, William B. 1930-1932

Walton, Willmina 1882-1882
(dau of WF & FM)

Walton, William F. 1856-1882

Walton, W.B. 1816-1887

Walton, C.L. 1854-1919

Walton, S.J. 1827-1905

Walton, Francis E. 1862-1928

Walton, Lois C. White 1862-1939

Walton, Charles 1900-1900

Walton, Ann P. 1899-1967

Walton, Joseph Ezra 1869-1863

Walton, Emma M. White 1870-1955

Walton, Baby

Ward, Betty Jean 1925-1932

Ward, Lavon Pvt 1931-1952
(Army Engr Hq Co 23 Korea)

Ward, Walter Henry 1887-1958

Ward, Sadie O. Bell 1889-

Watson. Bernard Lee 1879-1940

Welch, Frank

West, James 1877-

West, 1873-

Ward, Alice Vopalensky 1885-1935

White, Barney 1815-1899

White, Martha 1836-1899 ← prob. means Mariah

White, Orin 1863-1941

Wilkinson, Lester Leroy 1907-1966

Wilkinson, Cleota 1910-

Wilkinson, Judson W. 1877-1962

Wilkinson, Emaline Gray 1880-1948

Wilkinson, Bernice 1912-1912

Wilkinson, Sarah 1879-1948

Withee, D.M.

Wilt, Mary E. 1872-1960

Wilt, Mary

Wilt, Charles

Wilt, William

Wood, Samuel Pvt Co G 1831-1965
(4 Wi Inf C W)
Wood, Wf of Sam

Wright, T.J. 1871

Whiteaker, Cora

White, Elizabeth
(Clossie

Whiteaker,
Whiteaker, Lavern

Whiteaker, Jean

Whiteaker, William(C W

Whiteaker, Wilson R.
Wf

Whiteaker, Wm

Whiteaker, Lewis W.
(son of Wm & BA)

Whiteaker, Gertrude

Whiteaker, Jacob S.
Wf o

Whiteaker, Lucinda AW
Wf of

Whiteaker, Jane Albrick

Whiteaker, Allie

Whiteaker, Byron

Whiteaker, Joseph Webb

Whiteaker, Eldora Sutto

Whiteaker, Andrew

Whiteaker, Virgil

Whiteaker, George
Wf o

Whiteaker, Geo

Whiteaker, Erma Melvina

Whiteaker, Twins

Whiteaker,

Page 6 Jan Hebron

Young, Ambrose Pvt
(Co E 6 Regt C W)

Young, Wf of Ambr

By Baines

Standish Parish.

Duxbury.

brought it down to the time of sir Rowland Standish, whose name is rendered famous by the relics of St. Lawrence deposited in the church of Chorley.*

On the death of the late sir F. Standish, in May, 1812, one Thomas Standish, of Blackrod, assuming himself to be the heir, assembled a number of followers, and, adopting the proceedings of some of his betters in the fifteenth century,† took possession of Duxbury-hall by turning out the servants of Frank Hall Standish, esq., the real heir, in defiance of the peace-officers. After several days' possession, the intruders were forcibly ejected by the magistracy of the district, and committed to Lancaster castle. At the summer assizes following, Thomas Standish, the pretender, Thomas Prescott, William Gadman, John Dyke, Thomas Aspinall, and James Smith, were brought to trial for this offence, charged with stealing wine, spirits, and other articles, the property of Frank Hall Standish, esq.; to which charge they all pleaded guilty, and were severally sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

* STANDISH PEDEGREY.

Hugo de Standish duxit Aliciam fil̄ Ricī Molyneux.

Richī de Standish fil̄ et heres Hugonis.

Hugo de Standish fil̄ Ricī 20 E. 3.

Christopher de Standish de Duxbury duxit Margretam fil̄ Tho Fleminge milit 19 R. 2.

This Christop changed his seil of the cote from sa. to blew.

Sr Hugh Standish kt at the battle of Agencourt temp. H. 5 found three men at Armes ꝛ 9 Archers mounted his endenture wth his seale in the same office.

Sr Hugh Standish wth 20 men at Armes ꝛ 40 Archers serued H. 5 at sea for 50 dayes.

Christop Standish esqr. serued the sayd Kinge 9 H. 5 wth 6 men at Armes ꝛ 18 Archers mounted beyond the seas.

Rouland Standish esqr. wth 19 men of Armes ꝛ 60 Archers serued the Kinge in France 2 H. 6.

Alexander Standish esqr. wth 6 men of Armes ꝛ 27 Archers mounted serued the Kinge in France by direction of the duke of Bedford.

Roulandus Standish de Dux. fuit miles 5 H. 6 et ꝑbat' testamentū 1435 occisus in Francia cum comite Arundell, etc.

Alicia relict. Jacobi Standish de Duxbury in viduatate mea remisi Christophero Standish militi filio meo etc. 1 R. 3.

Jacobus Standish frater et heres Roulandi Standish mil̄.

This Sr Rouland gaue the relique of St Laurence head to the church of Chorley co. Lanc. vid̄ the deed wth his armes ꝛ the receipt of the curate.

Sr Rafe Standish quondam of London.—Holinshed Chro. page 283.

Harl. MSS. Cod. 2042. *Fol.* 239.

† See Vol. II. p. 613-14.

Capt. Ezekiel Olney, born at Providence, R. I. July 4, 1745, died Oct. 21, 1826.
Lydia, wife of Capt. Ezekiel Olney, born at Smithfield, R. I. May 6, 1755, died Sept. 13, 1833.
Mr. Caleb Orcutt: he died Nov. ye 7th A.D. 1804 in the 62d year of his age.
William H. son of Johnathan & Mary Ann Overend Died Dec. 30, 1853. Æ. 4 y'rs 8 m's. Also an Infant daughter died Jan. 6, 1854.
Achsah, wife of Daniel Parsons died March 7, 1868, aged 86.
Chloe Weston, wife of Rufus Parsons born July 17, 1799, died Mar. 20, 1875.
Cornelia A. daughter of Thomas & Lucetha Parsons died Oct. 25, 1862 aged 11 years.
Daniel Parsons died Nov. 15, 1852. Aged 72.
Mrs. Dorothy, wife of Mr. Joseph Parsons who died May ye 25th A.D. 1777 in ye 74th year of her age.
Emily M. wife of John G. Parsons & daughter of Roderick & Abigail Fenton died at Monson, Mass. May 10, 1851, Aged 25 years.
Mrs. Hannah, wife to Mr. Joseph Parsons; she died Sept. 3d, 1762 in ye 52d year of her age.
James W. son of Rufus & Chloe Parsons who was drowned Dec. 6, 1833 aged 3 y'rs & 9 mo's.
Mr. Joseph Parsons who died Janr. 12th, 1776 in ye 74th year of his age and hath Ben ye husband of 2 wifes.
Capt. Joseph Parsons died Nov. 4th, 1812 in the 78th year of his age.
Julius L. son of Thomas & Lucetta Parsons, a member of Co. A. 1st Conn. H. A. died at Bermuda Hundred, Va. Oct. 14, 1864. Ae. 18 yrs. 10 mos.
Lydia G. daughter of Daniel & Achsah Parsons died Oct. 21, 1846, aged 26 years.
Mrs. Mary, relict of Mr. Joseph Parsons died Jan. 13, 1825. Ae. 80.
Rufus Parsons born Feb. 20, 1794 died Jan. 7, 1874.
A soldier in the war of 1812.
Mr. John Partridge who departed this life Decr 15th, 1807 in the 62d year of his Age,
Lydia, wife of Doct. Silas Partridge died Oct. 28, 1849. Æ. 64.
Doct. Silas Partridge died March 25, 1849. Æ. 75.
Deac Nathaniel Patten died April 19, 1779 in his 77 year.
Mrs. Ruth Patten, wife of Deac Nathaniel Patten (Formerly wife of Mr. Wm. Johnson) died Oct. 3, 1786. Ae. 80.
Anna, daughter of Mr. Timothy & Mrs. Lois Pearl died Jan. 11, A.D. 1800 in the 6th year of her age.
Misses Anna & Chloe C. whose remains are deposited here and whose ethereal part became a seraph Sept. 13 and 24, 1848 in the 22nd & 14th year of their age.
Daughters of Austin & Sophronia Pearl.
Austin Pearl died July 14, 1863. Ae. 66.
Chloe Pearl who died June 1, 1835. Aged 43.
Mrs. Dinah Pearl Relict of Capt. Timothy Pearl who died Sept. 25th, 1806 in the 81st year of her age.

[To be continued]

SOME RECENT INVESTIGATIONS CONCERNING THE ANCESTRY OF CAPT. MYLES STANDISH

By Rev. Thomas Cruddas Porteus, B.A., B.D., of Coppull, Lancashire, Eng.

Knowing the wide-spread interest that is aroused by any discoveries relating to the English homes and connections of those who came to New England in the *Mayflower*, the writer of this article submits to the readers of the Register the results of some of his researches in the history of the numerous Standish families of Lancashire; and he does this in the belief that he has identified the lands in England to which Capt. Myles Standish in his will laid claim and that in all probability he has determined the particular branch of the Lancashire Standishes to which the Plymouth soldier belonged. At the end of the article will be found a tentative pedigree, showing in tabular form a probable line of ancestry for Capt. Myles Standish and the probable connection between that branch of the family from which, in the opinion of the writer, Capt. Myles sprang and the main line of Standish of Standish. Copies or abstracts of twenty-eight recently discovered deeds are added, from which the history of the lands in question has been traced.*

The concluding paragraph in the last will and testament of Capt. Myles Standish, which is dated 7 Mar. 1655 [1655/6] and was exhibited before the Court at Plymouth 4 May 1657, reads as follows:

9 I give unto my son & heire aparent Allexander Standish all my lands as heire apparent by lawfull Decent in Ormistick Borsconge Wrightington Maudsley Newburrow Crawston and the Ile of man and given to mee as right heire by lawfull Decent but Surruptuously Detained from mee my great G(ran)dfather being a 2cond or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish†

Nathaniel Morton, in his "New-Englands Memoriall," printed in 1669, about thirteen years after the death of Capt. Myles Standish, writes:

This Year [1656] Captain *Miles Standish* expired his mortal life: He was a Gentleman, born in *Lancashire*, and was Heir-Apparent unto a great Estate of Lands and Livings, surreptitiously detained from him; his great Grandfather being a Second or Younger Brother from the House of *Standish*.‡

Hubbard, in his "General History of New England," p. 556 (second edition, 1848), says that Capt. Standish "was allied to the

* The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mrs. Tempest, who has made a new translation of the deeds of H. Standish, Esq., and to Dr. Farrer, for generous permission to study and copy from documents in his valuable collection.

† The will is printed in *The Mayflower Descendant*, vol. 3, pp. 153–155 (from Plymouth Colony Wills and Inventories, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 37 ff.); also in Register, vol. 5, pp. 335–336, and in The Standishes of America, by Myles Standish, A.M., M.D., Boston, 1895, pp. 5–7.

‡ New-Englands Memoriall, p. 143 of the edition published by The Club of Odd Volumes, Boston, 1903, a facsimile of the first edition of 1669.

Steendish

noble house of Standish, in Lancashire, inheriting some of the virtues of that honorable family, as well as the name."

Alexander Standish, the eldest son of Capt. Myles, in his will dated 21 Feb. 1701/2 and proved 10 Aug. 1702, refers to the English lands mentioned in his father's will in the following terms:

> Also my will is That whatsoever Estate Either in New England or in old England by letters of Attorney from under my hand Seal And John Rogers of Boston in New England by a letter of Attorney from under my hand & seal Be Recovered after my decease my will is that my wife have her third part & ye Remainder to be divided Equally betweene Thomas Standish Ichabod Standish & desire Standish.*

which I have Committed into ye hands of Robert orchard to Recover in

It is clear, therefore, that Capt. Myles Standish believed that he was descended from the family of Standish of Standish, co. Lancaster, and that lands to which he was heir in certain Lancashire places and in the Isle of Man had been "Surruptuously [i.e., surreptitiously] Detained" from him; that his fellow colonist, Nathaniel Morton, writing not more than thirteen years after Capt. Myles's death, repeated in briefer form the statements of the will, omitting the names of the places in which the lands in question were situated but adding the important information that Capt. Myles was born in Lancashire; that Rev. William Hubbard, writing also before the close of the seventeenth century, connected Capt. Myles with the house of Standish in Lancashire; and that Alexander Standish took steps — evidently without success — towards the recovery of the English estates to which his father had claimed that he was entitled.

Notwithstanding the clues furnished by the records which have been quoted above, no one has yet been able to determine the exact relationship of Capt. Myles Standish to the Standishes of Lancashire, previous investigators having failed to prove a line of descent for him from the Standishes of Standish or to connect him positively with the Standishes of Duxbury. Longfellow, who in his "Courtship of Miles Standish" boldly assigns Capt. Myles to the Duxbury Standishes, may have been influenced by the name *Duxbury* which was given to the town in the Plymouth Colony in which Capt. Myles finally settled; but he appears to be ignorant of the fact that the manor house of the Standishes of Duxbury was not called Duxbury Hall in the time of Capt. Myles, but was then known as "The Peel," and for many years afterwards as Duxbury Park. The house known as Duxbury Hall belonged to a younger branch of the family of Duxbury of Duxbury and was sold to Ralph Standish of Standish 20 Jan., 15 Henry VIII [1523/4]. (Earwaker, Charters and Deeds relative to the Standish Family of Standish and Duxbury, co. Lancaster,† cclxxii, cclxxiii, ccxci, ccxcii.) Longfellow, however, was not writing history when he composed his poem, and further refutation of his statements is unnecessary. In spite of the vast amount of research and of speculation in regard to the problems of Capt. Myles's pedigree, of his religion, and of the lands which he claimed, no mention of any Myles Standish of the period of time to which Capt. Myles belonged has been found in Lancashire.*

* Printed in *The Mayflower Descendant*, vol. 12, pp. 101-102, and in The Standishes of America, pp. 9-10.

† In subsequent references this collection of Standish deeds will be indicated simply by the name of the editor, Earwaker.

At this point it may be desirable to examine a little more closely the paragraph which has been quoted from the will of Capt. Myles Standish, and which is certainly a strange mixture of definiteness and vagueness. The claim of descent from Standish of Standish is plain enough, and suggests that the testator knew of other branches of the Standish family. Yet the statement that Myles's great-grandfather was a second or younger brother of this house is dubious as it stands (the words *second* and *younger* may be equivalents or alternatives), and is more doubtful if the term *great-grandfather* is not used literally, to designate an ancestor three generations back, but is used, in a loose, general sense, for a remote ancestor. That the Captain did use the expression in this loose way seems plain to the writer; for the lands to which he refers were, as will be shown below, in the hands of a younger branch at least as early as 1480, while Ralph Standish, the squire of Standish three generations back from Myles, died in 1538, and his (Ralph's) father, Sir Alexander, died in 1507. Why does Myles not give the name of this great-grandfather? He does not even give the name of his father. Again, the names of the places where the "Detained" lands were situated are definitely stated, though the words "and the Ile of man" are somewhat vague. The Captain had been away from England very long when he made his will; yet he recollects accurately the Lancashire localities where his branch of the family had tenements. But again, he gives no particulars. He does not state the acreage of the lands, nor their annual value, nor how they were bounded, nor of what lords they were held. "Surruptuously Detained," too, is a curious phrase, the writing of one with whom the sword was mightier than the pen. The word *surreptitiously* no doubt indicates an act carried out by fraud rather than by force. And we naturally ask, By whom? By what means? On what pretense? Have any attempts been made to recover possession, and with what success? On these points the will is silent. Capt. Myles seems to take it for granted that his son Alexander knows all the particulars, and may be trusted to take the proper steps. But having told us so much, why did he not tell us more? He made a public protest against the fraud of those who disinherited him; he aired his grievance, so to speak; for he must have known that the will would be read before the Court, and so made known to the Colony.

* One possible exception to this statement should be noted. William Prescott Greenlaw, Esq., Librarian of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, has called attention to a Miles Standish of Duxbury, who is mentioned in the *Publications of the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society*, vol. 26, p. 60, note, where he is said to have married, not earlier than 1644, Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of George Ireland of Southworth, co. Lancaster, and widow of Cuthbert Clifton of Westby and Clifton, to whom she had been married in 1641. It appears also from this note that Cuthbert Clifton, the former husband of Margaret Ireland, was a colonel in the army of the King, was taken prisoner at Liverpool in 1644, and died s.p. soon afterwards, and that Margaret (Ireland) Standish married thirdly Peniston Whalley of Screveton, co. Notts. The editor of the volume (which contains Lancashire Royalist Composition Papers) gives no authority for his statements about Miles Standish of Duxbury and his wife. The writer of this article, however, believes that *Miles* is here a mere slip of the pen for *Alexander*; for according to the pedigrees of Standish of Duxbury the second husband of this Margaret Ireland was the Alexander Standish who died in 1647.

But something sealed his lips as to the names of the transgressors and the nature of their offense. And we who speculate on the matter to-day almost feel that the particulars we should like to know have been "Surruptuously Detained" from us. Take another phrase, "given to mee as right heire." By whom? How given? Heir to whom? The emphasis on "by lawfull Decent," the words occurring twice in the short paragraph, might almost suggest that the Captain's legitimacy had been denied by those who withheld the lands.

It may be remarked in passing that no evidence as to Capt. Myles Standish's descent is deducible from the names he gave to his sons or from his religious position. He called his eldest son Alexander. The name of the manorial lord of Duxbury when Myles sailed in the *Mayflower* was Alexander; the latter died in 1622, and was succeeded by his son Thomas. But another Alexander was manorial lord of Standish from 1610 until 1622. The name of Myles's daughter Lora is reminiscent of a Standish of Standish alliance in 1398 or thereabouts, when Lawrence de Standish married Lora, daughter of Sir Roger Pilkington. (Mrs. Tempest, Standish Deeds, no. 115.) But no inference can be deduced from these names.

As to Capt. Myles's religious position, Hubbard, in writing of the military affairs of the Plymouth colonists, describes him "as a person of that company, though at that time not of their church." (General History of New England, p. 63.) The list of his books contained in the inventory of his estate shows that he had, in addition to other books, three Bibles, a Testament, a Psalm-book, Calvin's Institutes, and a number of controversial works.* We may, perhaps, infer from them that he was not a Roman Catholic. It is unlikely that the Pilgrims would have put him in office if he had been a Roman Catholic, or that he would have attended their services, as the records of the Plymouth Colony show that he did. His will reveals a devout man, nevertheless. He exhorts the supervisors to do the office of Christian love to his wife and children and to be helpful to them by Christian counsel and advice, and ends this request with the words, "though neither they nor I shalbee able to recompenc I Doe not Doubt but the Lord will." Neither Puritan nor Roman Catholic, yet devout. What was his position? Was it not that of a large number of English people of those days, opposed to extremes, and content with the compromise represented by the reformed Church of England?

The statement is made by Tudor Jenks and others concerning the two great branches of the family that "at the Reformation the two separated [in religious opinion], the Standish Hall family remaining Romanists, while the Duxbury branch became Protestants." (Jenks, Captain Myles Standish, p. 33.) This needs qualification. Edward Standish of Standish, who died in 1610, though suspected, was never a convicted recusant, and Ralph Standish of Standish, his grandson, stated in 1652 that he was neither recusant nor delinquent. (Calendar of State Papers, Compounding Committee, vol. 4, p. 2574.) But soon afterwards the family of Standish of Standish Hall became avowedly Roman Catholic.

* *The Mayflower Descendant*, vol. 3, p. 155; REGISTER, vol. 5, pp. 336–338.

The accompanying map shows the situation of five of the Lancashire places that are mentioned in Capt. Myles Standish's will and of many other places that are referred to in this article.

PART OF THE COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER
FROM CAMDEN'S BRITANNIA, EDITION OF 1695*

* This map is three-fourths as large as the corresponding portion of the map in Camden's Britannia, and is on a scale of about 6⅔ miles to the inch. "The Pele," south of Charley [Chorley], appears on the map in the edition of the Britannia published in 1637 as "the Pele of Duxbury," while "The Pele" near the southeastern corner of the map, a short distance north of the River Mersey, is in the edition of 1637 called "the Pile." All of the six Lancashire places mentioned in the will of Capt. Myles Standish are given on this map except Maudsley [Mawdesley], and this place adjoins Bispham. Coppull, the residence of the writer of this article, does not appear on this map, but it lies north of Standish and adjoining it on the main road indicated.

The Lancashire places named in the Captain's will are undoubtedly townships, not parishes. Croston is the township of that name, not the parish. If the parish were intended, Mawdesley would not have been named, as it is a township in Croston parish. Similarly, Ormskirk is mentioned as a township, for Newburgh is a hamlet in Lathom township and is in the parish of Ormskirk. Burscough is also a township in Ormskirk parish. Wrightington is a township in the ancient parish of Eccleston. Duxbury Hall was never in the parish of Chorley, as some have supposed, but was always in the ancient parish of Standish.

The fundamental error of American writers on the subject of Capt. Myles's ancestry is to take it for granted that there were only two branches of the Standish family in Lancashire in the days of Queen Elizabeth. There were two chief branches, but there were also a score of other branches. Then, or before that time, Standishes were found in all the hundreds of Lancashire. But in the two hundreds of Leyland and West Derby they were most in evidence. In Leyland hundred one branch held an estate in Croston and Mawdesley and elsewhere, and this branch may prove to have some bearing on the history of Capt. Myles. The parish of Standish (which originally contained ten townships, Standish with Langtree, Shevington, Coppull, Charnock Richard, Worthington, Welsh Whittle, Duxbury, Adlington, Anderton, and Heath Charnock) was dotted over with settlements of the family. There were several households in Standish township, several in Duxbury, several in Shevington. In West Derby hundred there were Standishes in Wigan parish, in Walton-on-the-Hill, in Prescot, and in Ormskirk. They are mentioned in more than a dozen different parish registers and chapelry registers in the county. Many wills, inquisitions post mortem, fines, and deeds relating to these various branches were searched for some trace of Capt. Myles's descent and inheritance; and at last, after following many a false trail that ended in failure, the writer made a discovery that enables him, as he believes, to set forth the history of the lands claimed by Capt. Myles in his will and to point out the particular Standish family to which the Plymouth warrior in all probability belonged.

In the year 1912 the writer of this article, while turning over the pages of a volume of manuscripts in the Chetham Library at Manchester, in a search for something else, came upon this brief in a calendar of deeds:

Rentale Margarete Standysshe, vidue, p'an. integrum, A.D. 1529. Ormskirk, Borscoghe, Croston, Mawdisley, Wryghtington, Newburghe. . . (Piccope MSS., vol. 3, p. 42, no. 114. *Vide infra*, p. 363, Deeds, no. 3.)

There flashed at once into the writer's mind the identity of these townships or hamlets with the places named in the will of Capt. Myles Standish; and further search led to the discovery, not easily and all at once but gradually and from various sources, of about thirty transcribed deeds* and a host of other references, all pertaining to the estate of a line of Standishes descended from the stock at Standish Hall but as far back as the fifteenth century quite distinct from the parent house. These deeds do not mention Myles Standish; but in the mind of the writer they leave no doubt that, in so far as circumstantial evidence can give certainty, Capt. Myles Standish belonged to a certain branch of the Standishes that was settled from 1440, if not earlier, at Ormskirk, in the hundred of West Derby. The six places in Lancashire to which Capt. Myles refers in his will were the places in which the Standishes of this branch held land, and they seem to have held nowhere else. A clinching bit of evidence is

* Copies or abstracts of twenty-eight of these deeds may be found at the end of this article (pp. 363–370), and will be referred to as Deeds, with the appropriate number.

found in the fact that some members of this branch settled in the Isle of Man. In this article, therefore, the writer purposes to present evidence in support of the following theories: first, that Capt. Myles Standish did not spring immediately from the Standish Hall stock; secondly, that it appears that he did not come from the Standishes of Duxbury Park; and thirdly, that he was one of the Standishes of Ormskirk.

The chief reason for concluding that Capt. Myles did not derive descent immediately from the family of Standish of Standish is the locality or "lie" of the lands mentioned in his will. The matter may be put in two ways: first, he did not claim tenements in the townships where the Standishes of Standish held most land; secondly, in the majority of the places which he names they held no estate. Our sources of information concerning the Standish possessions consist of deeds, final concords, and inquisitions post mortem.

The family of Standish of Standish (the parent stock), as the name denotes, had their chief estate in the township or townships of Standish with Langtree. Ralph Standish, who died in 1538, had the manor of Standish and 22 houses there, and also 3 mills, 200 acres of arable land, 100 acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood, and 200 acres of heath and moor. (Lancashire Inquisitions Post Mortem, vol. 8, no. 21.) By the time of Edward Standish, who died in 1610, the estate was somewhat reduced; but his inquisition post mortem mentions some 330 acres in Standish. (*Ib.*, vol. 20, no. 7, printed in *Publications of the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society*, vol. 3, pp. 185–191.) Now Capt. Myles did not claim a single acre in this vill, which was the very headquarters of the Standish Hall stock. Similarly, they held very extensively in Shevington, from early times claiming a fourth part of the manor; the Edward just mentioned had seven houses and land there. Very early also they obtained a house and land in Wigan. The aforesaid Ralph acquired extensive property in Duxbury and in Coppull. None of these estates are referred to in the Captain's will. Again, by marriages with heiresses, lands in other parts of Lancashire, such as Chadderton, Glodwick, and Rochdale, were from time to time added to the Standish possessions; but not an inch of these dowry lands was mentioned by Capt. Myles. This indicates that he made no claim to the chief part of the estate held by the manorial lords of Standish.

There are, however, two places named in the Captain's will in which the parent stock had a small estate, viz., Ormskirk and Wrightington.

The family of Standish of Standish had only one tenement in the parish of Ormskirk, and the history of this tenement seems fairly clear. Kuerden records that "Henry le Waleys gave William de Standish my burgage in Ormskirk bounded . . ." (Kuerden, Fol. MS., p. 10, no. 44.) Henry was rector both of Standish and (at one time) of Aughton near Ormskirk, and the grant must have been made early in the fourteenth century. Burgage was a kind of tenure in ancient towns at a fixed yearly rent, a sort of town socage. The burgage at Ormskirk is mentioned among the Standish possessions from time to time. Alexander de Standish held it at the time of his death in 1445.

It is referred to in a Standish settlement about five years later. (*Ib.*, p. 13, no. 53.) Ralph Standish, who died in 1538, held a cottage, etc., in Ormskirk of the King in burgage, and the clear annual value was estimated at 12d. In the inquisition after the death of Ralph, who died under age in 1546, the holding is described as a cottage in Ormskirk of the value of 12d., held of the King in free burgage as of the late monastery of Burscough. The Standishes of Standish are mentioned as tenants in the various rentals of Burscough Priory. Edward, who succeeded the Ralph last mentioned, appears to have sold this property. For in 2 and 3 Philip and Mary [1555–6] Edward Standish of Standish granted Peter Stanley a tenement in Commonfield in Ormskirk. (Kuerden MSS., vol. 2, fo. 271b.) The inquisition after the death of Edward (1610) does not mention any possessions in Ormskirk. The Standishes of Standish did not hold land in Burscough, or in Newburgh in Lathom, the other places in Ormskirk parish mentioned in the Captain's will; and therefore their possession of a cottage in Ormskirk town must not mislead us into concluding that Capt. Myles was claiming their estate. Similarly, the fact that the Standishes of Standish held in Wrightington 4 acres of land and 2 acres of pasture in 1546 may be ignored, although that township is named in the Captain's will.

It is clear, therefore, that the lands that the manorial family of Standish held and the lands that Capt. Myles claimed lie for the most part in different localities, and that they never owned land in most of the townships that he names. There is no evidence that they held in Burscough, Mawdesley, Newburgh, Croston, or that they had any land in the Isle of Man. There is indeed a Burscough family charter, dated 2 Henry VI [1423–4], among the Standish evidences which Mr. Earwaker published (Earwaker, cxvii), a settlement of lands in Burscough and Litham (Lathom) by Catherine, late wife of Richard de Burscough, or [?on] Richard her son, with remainder to Alice, daughter of Gilbert de Standish; but the lands in reversion never reached the Standishes of Standish, or they would have been mentioned in their settlements and inquisitions.

The holdings of the Standishes of Duxbury may next be examined. It is with this branch that Capt. Myles has been commonly but, as it seems to the writer, erroneously identified by the majority of writers. They acquired the manor of Duxbury from the family of that name, early in the fourteenth century, in a romantic way. Henry de Duxbury had taken part in the rebellion of Adam Banastre and was imprisoned at Lancaster, but was suffered to go about the town. He granted a rent from his lands to Hugh de Standish, who undertook to aid in his delivery. (Assize Roll 425, m. 6.) This concession paved the way for further surrenders. The connection of Hugh with the parent stock at Standish is not quite clear, but there is evidence that his grandparents were members of the Standish family. His father, whose surname he sometimes used, was Robert de Haydock, rector of Standish. (Kuerden MSS., vol. 2, fo. 145b, nos. 63, 69, 70; and account of Duxbury in Victoria County Histories, Lancashire.) The chief estate of the Standishes of Duxbury from very early times was in Duxbury, Heapey, and Bradley (in Standish with Langtree). They also held in Heath Charnock, Crosby, and elsewhere. Alexander Standish of Duxbury, who died in 1622, had about 432 acres of various lands in Duxbury, and about 332 acres in Heath Charnock. He held extensively in Heapey and Anglezark. (Lancashire Inquisitions, vol. 24, no. 56, printed in *Publications of the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society*, vol. 17, pp. 397–400.) These places are not named in the Captain's will. In the places that are named in the will the Standishes of Duxbury appear not to have had any tenements. This again would seem to prove that, of whatever estates Capt. Myles was defrauded, they were not the property of Standish of Duxbury; and, therefore, presumably, he was not a member of this particular branch of the Standishes.

It must be admitted, however, that this conclusion is not in harmony with the opinion of several American writers, who state that the name of the town of Duxbury in the Plymouth Colony was derived from Duxbury in Lancashire and was given to the New England town because of Capt. Myles Standish's connection with Duxbury Hall.* The late Justin Winsor wrote: "It [the town of Duxbury] received the name of Duxbury out of respect to Captain Standish, from Duxbury Hall, the seat of the Standish family in England" (History of Duxbury, p. 11); but that this was merely Mr. Winsor's personal opinion, unsupported by evidence, may be inferred from another statement by him, that this "undoubtedly is the origin of the name of the New England town" (*ib.*, p. 12), and by his expression of dissent from the opinion of an anonymous writer in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. 2, p. 4, who as early as 1793 wrote: "The probable etymology [of the name of the New England town] is Dux and borough, or burrow, as it was then written. It being a grant to the Captain or Leader, it was called his borough." This same anonymous writer, though he records that "Capt. Standish . . . . was born in Lancashire in England, and was heir apparent to a great estate," adds to his explanation of the name of the town the significant footnote: "Many towns in Plymouth Colony are called after places in England, from which the first settlers came. Though there is a town of this name in England, it is said, that no persons, who first came to Plymouth, were from that place." The late William Henry Whitmore, in his "Essay on the Origin of the Names of Towns in Massachusetts," Boston, 1873, p. 17 (reprinted from *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, vol. 12), says that Duxbury was named "in compliment to the Standishes of Duxbury Hall; to which family Miles Standish probably claimed relationship." But although Capt. Myles was one of the leading men in the new settlement and was a member of a committee to fix boundaries between Plymouth and Duxbury, it ought not to be taken for granted that the name was his choice; and even if he did choose the name, it does not necessarily follow that Duxbury in England was his birthplace or the home of his family. It is possible that he gave the name *Duxbury* to the town in the Plymouth Colony in honor of the Park held by an important branch of the Standishes in Lancashire. To the writer,

* *Vide supra*, p. 340.

however, it seems that the facts given in the preceding paragraph in regard to the lands held by the Standishes of Duxbury and those mentioned in Capt. Myles's will are of greater weight as evidence than the conjectures of American writers as to the origin of the name of the New England town.

Before leaving the subject of Capt. Myles's connection with the Standishes of Duxbury, it may be well to refer to statements that have been made about an alleged mutilation of the page in the parish register of Chorley, co. Lancaster, which is supposed by some to have contained the record of his baptism.

On 17 Aug. 1871 a piece of ground on Captain's Hill in the New England Duxbury was consecrated as the future site of the imposing monument to Standish which now rises high on that headland. Gen. Horace Binney Sargent was the orator of the day, and in the course of his tribute to the famous Pilgrim captain he declared: "To defeat the title of his line to lands in England, the rent-roll of which is half a million per annum, the hand of fraud is supposed to have defaced the page that contained the parish record of his birth." (Myles Standish, with an Account of the Exercises of Consecration of the Monument Ground on Captain's Hill, Boston, 1871, p. 24.)

In Winsor's "History of Duxbury," Boston, 1849, pp. 96–97, may be found the following account of an attempt on the part of the descendants of Capt. Myles Standish to investigate his claim to estates in England:*

"In the fall of 1846, an association was formed among the descendants of Capt. Standish for the purpose of making investigations, and upwards of $3000 were furnished to their agent, I. W. R. Bromley, Esq., who started on his mission in November of that year, and returned in October of the following year, without however accomplishing the object of his search. I have been favored with the perusal of some of his correspondence with the Corresponding Secretary of the Association, and some brief minutes which I have gleaned from them may not be uninteresting. The property, to which it was his object to prove the right of Capt. Standish, comprises large tracts of rich farming lands, including several valuable coal mines, and produces a yearly income of £100,000 or more. From a commission, which was found, appointing Standish to a lieutenancy in Her Majesty's forces on the continent, the date of his birth was found, as also from incidents of his life in New England, which have now become a portion of her history, and from other data in the possession of his descendants, which all led to the conclusion that the year 1684 [*sic*, 1584] must have been that of his birth. The family seats are situated near the village of Chorley in Lancashire, and the records of this parish were thoroughly investigated from the year 1549 to 1652. And here in connection comes an incident in the researches of Mr. Bromley, which deserves particular attention, and causes the fair conclusion, that Standish was the true and rightful heir to the estates, and that they were truly 'surreptitiously detained' from him, and are now enjoyed by those, to whom they do not justly belong.

* Mr. Winsor states also that there had been "several attempts" for the recovery of the property.

The records were all readily deciphered, with the exception of the years 1584 and 1585, the very dates, about which time Standish is supposed to have been born; and the parchment leaf which contained the registers of the births of these years was wholly illegible, and their appearance was such, that the conclusion was at once established, that it had been done purposely with pumice stone or otherwise, to destroy the legal evidence of the parentage of Standish, and his consequent title to the estates thereabout. The mutilation of these pages is supposed to have been accomplished, when about twenty years before, similar inquiries were made by the family in America. The rector of the parish, when afterwards requested by the investigator to certify that the pages were gone, at once suspected his design of discovering the title to the property, and taking advantage of the rigor of the law, (as he had entered as an antiquarian researcher merely,) compelled him to pay the sum of about £15, or suffer imprisonment.

"As it was said that the Captain married his first wife in the Isle of Man, this island was visited with hopes of discovering there his marriage registered, but without success, as no records of a date early enough were to be found. And thus it will be seen that on account of the destruction of all legal proof, the property must remain forever hopelessly irrecoverable."

Winsor's "History of Duxbury" was published in 1849, very soon after Mr. Bromley's unsuccessful investigations in England. In Goodwin's "The Pilgrim Republic," Boston, 1888, p. 452, the story appears in part as follows: "It was found that . . . the leaf for 1584–5, in the Chorley parish-register, had been pumiced so carefully as to leave no trace of the writing, though the record is otherwise complete from 1549 to 1652. This defaced page is not even now open to inspection . . . the rector, finding him [Bromley] searching for Standish's birth, arrested him under some ancient law, and enforced on him a fine of about £75, with the alternative of imprisonment; and he even refused to certify that the register is illegible at that point. The incumbent of Chorley seems to act as watch-dog for a patron who doubts the soundness of his titles."

The defect in the register is a fact; but the story of the fine puts a strain on one's credulity,* and the suggestion of fraudulent erasure is remarkable. Why delete the record of several months to blot out one entry? The method would be far from economical. Besides, no person has ever testified to having seen the baptismal entry in the Chorley register before the alleged defacement; there is no proof that it ever was there. The state of the Chorley parish register is not accurately described in these reports. The fact is that the top of page 39 has been torn off, and that in other parts of the same page the writing cannot be deciphered. This page 39 contains a portion only of the entries for 1584, the alleged date of Capt. Myles's birth. The two pages immediately preceding contain baptismal entries for the early part of the year, down to and including 8 May, and these are

* Dr. Myles Standish of Boston informs the editor of the REGISTER that Bromley merely claimed that he was *threatened* with a fine. It will be noticed that the £15 of Mr. Winsor's narrative has become £75 (instead of $75) in Mr. Goodwin's book.

quite readable. Nor is the torn page altogether illegible. In the entries thereon for May, June, and July no names of persons can be read. In July and August fragments can be deciphered, while from 23 Sept. to the end of the year almost all is distinguishable. Although all of the record for 1585 is not legible, enough can be deciphered to show that no baptism of a boy named Myles is entered under that year. It is inaccurate to say, as Goodwin does, that "the record is otherwise complete from 1549 to 1652." There are many gaps in the register, the most serious being the lack of any entries for the years 1553–1556 inclusive and 1599–1611 inclusive. Mice and damp have wrought great havoc in other pages. Neglect in the remote past rather than fraud is responsible for the difficulties of the transcriber. (Cf. The Registers of the Parish Church of Chorley, published by the Lancashire Parish Register Society, 1910.)*

In sending Mr. Bromley to investigate their claims to Standish lands, the Standish descendants in America had, no doubt, the Duxbury Park estates in mind; for Frank Hall Standish had died in 1840 and had been succeeded by a second cousin, William Standish Carr, who assumed the name of Standish. When Mr. Bromley arrived at Chorley he would naturally be received with suspicion. The disturbances of 1813–14 would be still remembered. For, after the death of the last baronet in 1812, one Thomas Standish, a weaver or collier of Blackrod, with a party of colliers, took possession (4 June 1813) of Duxbury Hall, claiming that he was lawful heir. (Cf. *Preston Guardian*, 15 June 1901.) Though he was evicted by a troop of dragoons, tried, and sent to Lancaster gaol, yet popular sympathy was on his side, and for long afterwards demonstrations were made in his favor. No doubt certain claims of this kind would be revived when Frank Hall Standish died unmarried in 1840. These disputes might account for the discouragement Mr. Bromley received when he went to consult the Chorley parish register in behalf of the descendants of Capt. Myles Standish. As far as the Duxbury Park estates are concerned, Capt. Myles did not mention Duxbury in his will, but he did claim something else which the Standishes of Duxbury never possessed.

It seems probable, therefore, that Capt. Myles Standish was not a great-great-grandson of the squire of Standish or of the squire of Duxbury. So much for negative conclusions. But there is good evidence that he was connected with another family of the name, viz., the family of Standish of Ormskirk; for, as has already been stated, the Ormskirk Standishes had an estate in the very Lancashire townships mentioned in the Captain's will, and probably nowhere else, and in the time of Myles an offshoot of this Ormskirk branch was settled in the Isle of Man. From the copies of deeds, collected by the present writer and numbered by him,† with a few references

* Dr. Myles Standish states that in 1912 it was entirely plain to him that the defect in the Chorley register was due to an erasure. The writer, however, calls attention to the fact that many other pages present the same appearance as p. 39, and in his judgment this may be due to wear while in a damp condition. The editors of the transcription make no mention of erasure. The register has been cleverly restored (the torn pages having been mended with new parchment) and splendidly bound.

† *Vide infra*, pp. 363–370.

to other sources, it is now possible to give some account of this family.

The first member of the family whom the writer has been able to trace is William Standish of Ormskirk, who was concerned in lawsuits in 1444 and 1446. About the same time or a little earlier a Huan Standish is found; and if *Huan* is equivalent to *Ewan* and *Evan* (*Vanus*), these two men may be the father and son who are mentioned in a deed of 1481 (*vide infra*, Deeds, no. 1). Huan Standish was a witness at Ormskirk on the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 15 Henry VI [2 Feb. 1436/7]. (Towneley MSS., DD. 210, 241.) Ewan (? Huan) Standish was witness to an oath in Ormskirk church in 1446. Another witness was one Thomas Crofte of Ormskirk, yeoman, a man of credence, good name and fame, and above 80 years of age. This is interesting, as the Standish and Croft families afterwards intermarried. (Scarisbrick Charters, no. 162, in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, N.S., vol. 14.) A third member of the family, Hugh (Hugo), was prominent in the locality somewhat later. Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, gent., was accused of breaking into the closes of Henry Atherton, who had lands in Bickerstaffe, Burscough, Ormskirk, etc. The case was tried in Lent, 16 Edward IV [1476/7]. (Lancaster Plea Rolls, no. 44.) Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, gent., was also accused with Elizabeth Fletcher, widow, and William Fletcher, of having disseised James Ormskirk. He was tried in Lent, 23 Edward IV [1483]. (Lancaster Plea Rolls, no. 57, m. 15d.) He appears to have varied these lively proceedings with acts of piety; for Thomas, Earl of Derby, and others founded a chantry at the altar of Our Lady in Ormskirk church, at some time during the latter half of the fifteenth century, and among the founders appears the name of Hugh Standish. The chantry was endowed with lands in Aughton and Ormskirk. (Valor Ecclesiasticus, vol. 5, p. 223, published by the Record Commission; Victoria County Histories, Lancashire, vol. 3, p. 246, note.) It may perhaps be conjectured that Hugh was a younger son of William Standish and that his elder brother Huan or Evan renounced his rights because he had left the locality.

The first reference to the family estate occurs in 1481, when only two places, Ormskirk and Newburgh, are mentioned. The messuages, lands, tenements, rents, and services there were on 20 May, 21 Edward IV [1481], in possession of the Hugh already referred to, and a certain Evan (Vanus) Standish of Warrington, son of William Standish, deceased, released to Hugh all his right and claim to them. Hamo (? Thomas) Atherton, Esq., Geoffrey Hulme, Gilbert Gerard, and others were witnesses to this quitclaim deed. (*Vide infra*, Deeds, no. 1.)

Twenty years afterwards the family estate was held by Gilbert Standish of Ormskirk, gentleman. By a deed dated at Ormskirk 11 June, 17 Henry VII [1502], the estate, now described as messuages, cottages, lands, and tenements, with appurtenances, was settled on Gilbert for life, with remainder to Robert Standish, his son and heir, and the heirs of the said Robert and Margaret Croft, daughter and

in Sutton in Apr., 37 Henry VI [1458–9]. (Piccope MSS., vol. 9, p. 370.) If it should turn out, as seems likely, that the Standish family of Ormskirk was derived from the Standishes of Scholes, then we have perhaps identified the "second or younger brother" through whom Capt. Myles traced his descent from the parent stock.

Some further particulars concerning this brave soldier may be given. Sir Ralph de Standish, Knight, was the younger brother of Henry de Standish, of Standish, Esq. Their father John had many sons, of whom William, Henry, Edmund, and Ralph were mentioned in the settlement in 1332. (Final Concords, vol. 2, p. 89.) Another son, John, is referred to in West's MS., and another, Gilbert, became rector of Standish in 1357. A seventh son, Sir Robert, has already been mentioned. William died before his father, and Henry succeeded to the manor. Ralph was the fourth son, but may have been the second surviving son when Henry became manorial lord. Dr. West thought that Ralph kept Henry out of his estates for a time, and this statement has crept into some of the pedigrees. (Cf. Foster, Pedigrees of Lancashire Families.) It is an error due to the misreading of some of the deeds. Nevertheless, the younger brother was a strong character. In 1353, the King granted Ralph a pardon for breach of the peace, and no one was to reproach him for what had been done on 10 Apr. 1352. (Earwaker, xxxviii.) In 1366 he was serving the King in the retinue of the Black Prince in Aquitaine (Victoria County Histories, Lancashire, vol. 3, p. 365), and received the annuity already mentioned. In 1377–8 Richard II confirmed to Ralph, "our dear esquire," the annuity given by the King's late father (the Black Prince), but it was to be paid by tenants of Shotwyk, co. Chester, as Sutton was now part of the queen mother's dower. (Mrs. Tempest, Standish Deeds, no. 95.) By rearrangement, however, Ralph continued to receive the £20 from Sutton. (Cf. Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II, 1377–1381, p. 124.) Other annuities were granted to him soon after. On 16 Oct. 1382 he explained to his dearest brother, Sir Gilbert de Standish, rector, his wishes in regard to his lands which he had vested in trustees. (*Ib.*, 1381–1385, p. 216; Mrs. Tempest, Standish Deeds, no. 102.) His estates referred to in various deeds include land in Wigan, Standish, Langtree, Shevington, Winstanley, Dalyston (? Eccleston) in Derbyshire (West Derby hundred), and other places. The charter of 16 Oct. 1382, just mentioned, is dated from London, where probably he died, for a fortnight after he had drawn it up, 30 Oct. 1382, his decease is announced and his annuity from Sutton was granted to another. (Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II, 1381–1385, p. 180.) The trustees of his estate in May 1383 granted some of his lands to Elizabeth, his widow, with remainder to their sons Nicholas and Ralph and their heirs, then to John de Standish and Joan de Standish, children of Mary de Ince, who is not described as his wife. (Mrs. Tempest, Standish Deeds, no. 104, correcting Earwaker, lxxiii.) A part of this estate was bought in 1402 by Ralph Standish of Standish. (Earwaker, xciii–cii.) The description "alias John," applied to one of the sons of Sir Ralph in West's MS. and Earwaker's translations of the deeds, is [illegible]. The [illegible]

is "Johem Standysh alias dẽm Johem fil Marie de Ines," that is, "John Standish otherwise called John son of Marie de Ince."

Sir Ralph's knighthood and custodianship of Scarborough Castle have an important bearing on another doubtful point in the history of the Standish family. Several chroniclers and historians concur in the statement that the King's esquire who helped to defend Richard II in the affray with Wat Tyler's followers was named Standish. There is diversity of opinion, however, as to his identity. Froissart says it was a John Standvich, Knighton says Ralph Standyche, while Lingard calls him Robert Standish. Lingard relates that when Wat Tyler was talking with the King, he affected to play with his dagger, and at last laid his hand on the King's bridle, whereupon Walworth, the Lord Mayor, jealous of his design, plunged a short sword in his throat. He spurred his horse, rode about a dozen yards, fell to the ground, and was despatched by Robert Standish, one of the King's esquires. The rebels bent their bows to avenge the fall of their leader. Froissart's account gives more detail: "Then dismounted one of the esquires of the King who was called John Standvich and drew a handsome sword [*une belle épée*] which he carried, and thrust this Tyler through the stomach and he was dead. . . . The King made three knights, one was the mayor of London, Mr [*messire*] John Wallourde, another Mr John Standvich, and the third Mr. Nicholas Banbre." (Froissart's Chronique, Lettenhove's edition, vol. 9, pp. 413–415.)

There is some ground, however, for believing that Knighton is correct when he gives the name of the esquire as Ralph Standyche (Knighton's Chronicle, Lumby's edition, 1889–1895, vol. 2, pp. 137–138), and that the swordsman in question was one and the same person with the Ralph de Standish whom we have been considering. The latter was, as we have seen, an esquire in the royal retinue. His father John, who died in 1350, was an esquire in the heraldic sense at least, and bore in 1332 a saltire between four crosses patonce. (Earwaker, xx.) There was also a Robert Standish in the King's retinue, possibly a brother of the Ralph referred to above. (Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II, 1396–1399, p. 571.) Now in those days, when there were no biographical handbooks for reporters to consult, it was easy for a man to be confused with his deceased father or his brother, especially if all three were esquires.

But the [illegible] evidence is this. The affray with Wat Tyler [illegible] in August of the same year Ralph, [illegible] referred to as the [illegible] esquire, is [illegible] reference to [illegible] of the

nection with the Wat Tyler riot. (*Ib.*, 1396–1399, p. 571.) But Ralph appears as knight for the first time in Aug. 1381, shortly after the disturbance, and he receives a grant to maintain his knightly rank, which suggests recent promotion. It can scarcely be doubted then that he was the esquire who despatched Wat Tyler and received knighthood for that service.

The following pedigree shows the probable connection of the Standishes of Ormskirk with the Standishes of Standish and indicates that member of the Ormskirk branch of the Standishes from whom Capt. Myles Standish was probably descended.

Tentative Pedigree of Capt. Myles Standish

Standish of Standish

John de Standish of Standish, died 1350*

- William de Standish, living 1332, died *s.p.*
- Henry de Standish, Lord of the Manor of Standish, died about 1396 — from whom descended the Standishes of Standish
- Edmund de Standish
- Sir Robert de Standish
- John de Standish
- Gilbert de Standish, Rector of Standish, 1357–1396
- Sir Ralph de Standish, Knight, the first Standish of Scholes, knighted 1381, died 1384 — from whom probably descended the Standishes of Ormskirk

Standish of Ormskirk

William Standish of Ormskirk, 1444

Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, 1437–1483

Gilbert Standish of Ormskirk, 1502

Robert Standish of Ormskirk, 1502 = Margaret Croft

- Thomas Standish of Ormskirk, 1539–1558 = Joanna Stanley — Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, 1566–1606
- John Standish, 1540
- Huan Standish of the Isle of Man, 1540 — from whom probably descended Capt. Myles Standish

No doubt further light will be thrown by continued research on the relations between the Standish family of Scholes in Eccleston and

* The Standish pedigrees give several generations prior to this John de Standish, but they have not been repeated here. The names of the wives of some of these Standishes are not known.

the Ormskirk branch; and it would not be very surprising if it should turn out that the "second or younger brother" through whom Capt. Myles Standish claimed descent from the parent stock was the first Standish of Scholes, Sir Ralph de Standish, Knight, a wild but courageous soldier, brave in foreign strife and in civil commotion, valued and rewarded by his king and country, fittingly the ancestor of that brave pioneer who was the first military officer in New England.*

Copies and Abstracts of Deeds Relating to the Lands of the Standishes of Ormskirk, co. Lancaster †

1

[*Margin:* Standish Van 6]

Pateat univ'sis p' p'sentes me Vanum Standish de Weryngton filium nup' Willimi Standish remissise et relaxasse Hugoni Standish de Ormeskirk et heredibus suis totum jus meum et clameum quod habui seu habeo in omnibus illis messuagiis terris tenementis redditibus et serviciis cum suis p'tinenciis que p'd Hugo habet in sua possessione in villis de Ormeskirke et Newburgh. Ita vero quod nec ego p'dictus Vanus nec heredes mei aliquod jus vel clameum in omnibus predictis p'missis vendicare poterimus sed ab omni actione juris sumus exclusi contra omnes gentes imp'petuum. In testimonium sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Hamone Atherton armigero Galfrido Hulme Gilberto Gerrard et aliis Dat vicesimo die Maii Anno Edwardi quarti vicesimo primo [1481] (Towneley MSS., DD. 60. Kuerden MSS., vol. 2, fo. 144b. Piccope MSS., vol. 3, p. 20, no. 60.)

2

[*Margin:* Gerard Peter 234, Gilbert Standish de Ormskirke ——— s. Robert Standish 27 H. 7]

Sciant quod nos Petrus Gerard et Richardus Hulme Cl'ci dimisimus et feoffavimus Gilberto Standish de Ormskirk generoso omnia messuagia cottagia terras et tenementa ñra cum p'tinenciis in Ormeskirk et Newburgh que nup' habuimus ex feoffamento predicti Gilberti Habendum et tenendum prefato Gilberto ad terminum vite sue de Capitalibus dominis feodi illius Et post Robert Standish filio et heredi predicti Gilberti et heredibus inter ipsum Robertum et Margaretam Croft filiā et heredem Roberti Croft legitime procreatis. Et sine herede Roberti tunc rectis heredibus prefati Gilberti integre remaneant impetuū Hiis testibus Henrico Hallsale milite Thoma Hesketh et Thoma Atherton armigeris et aliis Dat apud Ormeskirke undecimo die Junii Anno Henrici septimi decimo septimo [1502] (Towneley MSS., DD. 234. Kuerden MSS., vol. 2, fo. 144b.)

3

Rentale Margarete Standysshe, vidue, p'an. integrum, A.D. 1529. Ormskirk, Borscoghe, Croston, Mawdisley, Wryghtington, Newburghe, Sum^{a} tot^{lia} except libo redd — iii^{li} xii^{s} x^{d} (Piccope MSS., vol. 3, p. 42, no. 114.)

4

[*Margin:* Standishe Thomas 1341 Writinton.]

Sciant quod ego Thomas Standissh de Ormeskirk in Co^{m} Lanc geñ de et pro Suma decem librarum monete Anglie mihi p' Georgium Nelson de Cros-

* It will be recalled that Longfellow puts into the mouth of Capt. Myles Standish the words:

"One of my ancestors ran his sword through the heart of Wat Tyler."

† These copies and abstracts have been collected, arranged, and numbered by the writer of this article. In accordance with the custom of the Register the Latin has not been corrected or extended in printing the deeds.

alienated.* It is unlikely, however, that Hugh parted with the whole of his estate. The parish registers of Ormskirk show that descendants of Hugh remained in the locality for a long time. A Hugh Standish is prominent in the registers; and, if he be the one mentioned above, he must have been young when (about 1566) he inherited the estate and began bartering it away. Several children of Hugh were baptized at Ormskirk — Ann in 1591, Edith in 1592, Jane in 1595, and one without name in 1599. A child of Hugh was buried in 1600. Hugh Standish himself was buried 10 Dec. 1606 in the high chancel, an honor commonly reserved for benefactors. It will be recalled that his ancestor had contributed to the founding of a chantry. A Grace Standish was buried in the high chancel in 1620. Many other Standishes are named in the registers.

One might naturally expect to find in the Ormskirk registers the baptismal record of Myles Standish, but it is not there. The registers, however, are defective, like those of Chorley, a fact to which further reference will be made. But Capt. Myles was probably not a son of the Hugh who sold the estates; for this Hugh does not appear to have held lands in the Isle of Man, and his successor at Ormskirk seems to have been a Henry Standish. Nor did Thomas, Hugh's father, claim any Manx estate.

Now if Myles Standish was not a descendant of Thomas Standish, the father of Hugh, attention is naturally directed to the two brothers of Thomas mentioned in the latter's settlement of 1540, namely, John and Huan.

If the former of these may be identified with the John Standish of the quitclaim deed, then he did settle in the Isle of Man, as this deed shows. But in 1572 John renounced for himself and for his heirs forever all right to the lands in question; and therefore Myles could not reasonably claim the lands, or any moiety of them, if he were a son or descendant of John and knew about the deed of renunciation.

The other son of Robert Standish mentioned in 1540 as brother of Thomas and John was Huan. The probability is that Myles was his son or descendant. Did Huan also, like his brother John, settle in the Isle of Man? It is a remarkable fact that "Huyn Standish" was a landowner in Man. In 1540, at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, he held a tenement in Sulby, consisting of lands of the Abbey at Lezayre. He paid to the Abbey a rent of 24s., as the Computus shows. This was the estate of Ellanbane, which continued to be held by the Standishes until the eighteenth century. The Standish heiress married a Christian, and the descendants were known popularly as the Standish-Christians, to distinguish them from other Christians. (Information from Canon Quine.) Ellanbane consists of a pretty house and grounds, but it has now passed from the possession of the Christian family. The comparative rarity of the form Huyn or Huan adds to the probability that this Huyn was brother of Thomas Standish of Ormskirk.

* The lands sold by Hugh Standish to William Stopford came, partly by purchase and partly by marriage with the Stopfords, into the possession of the Hesketh family of Rufford, and it is quite possible that some of them remain to-day in the hands of the representative of that family, Sir Thomas Fermor-Hesketh of Rufford Hall, not far from Ormskirk.

There was considerable traffic between Lancashire and the Isle of Man, owing to the connection of the Stanleys, Earls of Derby, with both. They had large estates near Ormskirk, and they were "Kings" of Man. It has been shown that the Standishes of Ormskirk were connected by marriage with one branch of the Stanley family, Thomas Standish having married Joanna Stanley; and the Earls' interest in the Isle of Man might account for the migration thither of some of the Standishes of Ormskirk.

Owing to the difficulties of research in the Isle of Man, it has not been possible to draw up a connected account of the Manx Standishes. But the fragmentary items that have been collected indicate that there was more than one branch there in the reign of Henry VIII.

In the Manx Manorial Rolls, under the year 1511, there appears, below the heading "Cottages in Castletown," an Edward Standysh, who paid 2s. 4d. for "one room" granted by the lieutenant. (Information from Mr. W. Cubbon, Douglas Librarian, Isle of Man.) In 1540 the Huan already mentioned is found. About 1600 William Standish "the older" was vicar of Andreas, Isle of Man. A John Standish, son of William, was vicar of Lezayre about 1640. (*Manx Society Vols.*) As the question of the religion of Myles Standish is sometimes debated, it is noteworthy that several members of this section of the family were clergy of the Church of England. Not only clergymen but also parliamentarians are found amongst the Manx Standishes. A William Standish was a member of the House of Keys, 1637–1643. One of the name, described as William Standish of Ellanbane, gave depositions concerning the execution of Capt. William Christian in 1662. (*Ib.*, vol. 26, p. 18.) This William Standish appears to have taken sides against the Countess of Derby. A John Standish was a member of the House of Keys in 1651 and took an active part in the rising on the Island when the Manxmen declared for the Parliament. He was probably lieutenant or cornet in the Lezayre militia. He was present at the capture of Peel Castle under Capt. Radcliffe, and took a flag of truce there with the ostensible object of parleying with Maj. Woods, the commandant. His real purpose was to speak with the garrison in the Manx tongue, and to secure their defection in the night assault during which the castle was taken. Different persons of the same name, John Standish, were members of the Keys in later times. A William Standish is said to have owned Pulrose near Douglas. (Information from Canon Quine.)

The tradition is known in the Isle of Man that Rose and Barbara, the successive wives of Capt. Myles Standish, were natives of the Island and members of a Standish family there. But the story has possibly come from America. At any rate, Moore, once a deemster in the Island, says in his book on Manx names that careful search in the manorial records reveals no trace of Myles, Rose, or Barbara. This is probable; for it is chiefly landowners in succession who are named in the rolls, and Capt. Myles seems to have lost his Manx estate as well as his Lancashire lands.

The conclusion which we reach, therefore, is that Capt. Myles Standish came not from Standish nor from Duxbury, but from the

Standish family of Ormskirk, co. Lancaster, through one of the younger branches of that family holding lands in the Isle of Man. It may be added that he was probably a descendant of Huan, son of Robert Standish of Ormskirk.

If Capt. Myles was indeed born in Lancashire, as Nathaniel Morton in his "New-Englands Memoriall" testifies, then his most probable birthplace was Ormskirk. It has been stated above that the old registers there are defective. For 1584 and 1585, the time about which he is supposed to have been born (*vide supra*, p. 349), the entries are fairly numerous; but another tradition assigns his birth to 1587 (see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, vol. 15, p. 324, Oct. 1877), and for March and April of this year there are no entries in the Ormskirk register, the spaces having been left blank by the clerk.

It remains to attempt to answer one or two questions which will, no doubt, occur to many readers, but on which the deeds printed at the end of this article throw no light. Who was William, the first Standish of Ormskirk? How and when did the Ormskirk Standishes spring from the Standishes of Standish? Although the successive generations that have been mentioned, William, Hugh, Gilbert, Robert, Thomas, show that Capt. Myles's statement about his great-grandfather must, as stated above, be understood in a general sense, nevertheless he was likely to be right in the conviction that his branch of the family was descended from the manorial lords of Standish.

The view taken by the present writer, supported by a number of minute considerations too tedious to go through in detail, is that the family of Standish of Ormskirk was connected with that of Standish of Standish through a third, intermediate branch. With this in view two other families of Standish may be mentioned in conclusion.

First, it is possible that one of the Standish families who held in Croston was the intermediate branch.

It will be remembered that Capt. Myles Standish claimed land in Croston and Mawdesley. Towards the end of the fourteenth century two members of the Standish family, Fulk (Fulco) and Robert, married respectively the daughter and the widow of Sir William de Lea, who had an estate in Croston and vicinity. The relationship between Fulk and Robert is not stated. On 1 Feb. 1389/90 two cousins had an old charter confirmed to them. (Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II, 1388–1392, p. 184.) They were Thomas Fleming, Knight, and Alice, daughter of William del Lee, Knight, whom Fulk de Standish had married. The cousins were heirs of a certain William de la Mare, to whom Edward I had granted a weekly market on Wednesdays at William's manor of Croston and a three days' fair on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Wilfrid the Confessor, and also free warren in all his demesne lands there and in Mawdesley and Longton. The other marriage was that of Sir Robert de Standish (son of John de Standish, squire of Standish, 1322–1350), who achieved distinction, was knighted, and became sheriff of co. Lancaster. He married Isolda, widow of William de Lea. William and Isolda had held the manors of Croston and Mawdesley or moieties of them. Through these alliances the Standishes appear to have gained a footing in these

vills. Sir Robert and Isolda are mentioned in deeds relating to land in Croston in 11 Richard II [1387–8], and Robert's father John had obtained a lease of land in Croston. (Towneley MSS., BB. 102, 1643.) Soon afterwards another John Standish appears (whether son of Sir Robert or not cannot be ascertained), holding in Croston, Mawdesley, Wrightington, and other places. (*Ib.*, BB. 1504.) These three townships are identical with three mentioned in the Captain's will. But part of the estate of this John came from his wife Alice de Bretherton, whose parents, Henry and Margery, in 1410 had land in Wigan, Ashton-in-Makerfield, Wrightington, Croston, and Euxton. (Lancaster Plea Rolls, no. 4, m. 21.) The son and heir of this John Standish was Christopher Standish (Towneley MSS., BB. 1606, GG. 1252), who married Margaret, daughter of Robert Unton. John Standish's daughter Alison was to marry Robert Unton's son Henry. (*Ib.*, BB. 14.) Lettice, wife of Edward Rishton, was one of the daughters and heirs of Christopher Standish, 8 Henry VIII [1516–17]. (*Ib.*, RE. 296.) The estate seems to have been sold to the Hesketh's of Rufford, and nothing further has been learned of the family.

Secondly, there is yet another branch of the Standish family which held in some of the other townships referred to in Capt. Myles Standish's will; and this branch, the family of Standish of Scholes in Eccleston, in the parish of Prescot, appears more likely to be the connecting link between the parent stock and the Standishes of Ormskirk.

Sir Robert, son of John de Standish, has already been mentioned in connection with Croston. Ralph de Standish, another son of the same squire, and also a knight, was the first Standish of Scholes. Ralph, whose elder brother Henry was manorial lord of Standish from 1350 to 1396, served the Black Prince, who granted him an annuity of £20. He was knighted, and as Sir Ralph de Standish was made warden of Scarborough Castle in 1381. The references to him in Standish deeds show that he was a strong character and was not noted for conjugal fidelity. He was a large landowner, and among other estates acquired one named "The Scholes" in Eccleston in the parish of Prescot, which was held by him in 1366 of the Abbey of Cockersand, and was held afterwards by his heirs, as the rentals show. There are several indications of a connection between the important family of Standish of Scholes, whose descent can be traced down to the seventeenth century, and Standish of Ormskirk.

The nucleus of the estate of the Standishes of Ormskirk was in Ormskirk and in Newburgh, a hamlet of Lathom township. Now the Standishes of Scholes held in Lathom and Ormskirk (Pal. of Lancaster Feet of Fines, bundle 28, m. 87); in the latter vill they were tenants, holding messuages, land, and tenements, of Burscough Priory, as were the Standishes of Ormskirk. (Lancashire Inquisitions, vol. 9, no. 3.) Further, the Standishes of Scholes held in Sutton (the Sutton in Prescot parish), and were sometimes known as Standishes of Sutton. (Victoria County Histories, Lancashire, vol. 4, p. 94, note.) This is interesting; for a Hugh Standish (very possibly Hugh Standish of Ormskirk) held Pymfeldes and Northalk

heir of Robert Croft.* Ormskirk and Newburgh are still the only two places named where lands are held. This settlement was witnessed by Sir Henry Halsall, Knight, Thomas Hesketh, Esq., Thomas Atherton, Esq., and others. Peter Gerard and Richard Hulme, clerks, were feoffees. (Deeds, no. 2.)

The prior and canons of Burscough had lands in Ormskirk, and from their rentals we learn that the Standish family of Ormskirk held part at least of their land there from the Priory. In the rental for the year 1524 "the widow of Robert Standish" appears as a tenant. We may deduce from this that Robert, son of Gilbert, had died before this time; and, possibly, that his heir was a minor and that the land was held in his mother's name. (Duchy of Lancaster Rentals, bundle 5, no. 16.)

The brief of a rental of the lands of Margaret Standish, Robert's widow, shows that in 1529 the estate was located not only in Ormskirk and Newburgh, as formerly, but in Burscough, Croston, Mawdesley, and Wrightington as well. We may perhaps surmise that the lands in these four latter townships came from the Croft family by Margaret's marriage with Robert Standish. No details are given in the rental, but only the total sum, which is, "except libo redd," £3. 12s. 10d. (Deeds, no. 3.) The sum is not a very large one, even allowing for the different value of modern money. We have no means of deciding whether it represents the rents of the whole estate, or only of the third part usually held by the widow. But for the first time all the Lancashire townships mentioned by Capt. Myles Standish in his will are named in conjunction with the family of Standish of Ormskirk.

There is a gap at this period in the records of this family; but in 1539 a Thomas Standish is found in possession of the estate, and his wife Jane or Joan is mentioned. On 18 July 1539 Thomas Standish of Ormskirk mortgaged or sold for £10 a messuage and lands in Wrightington, of the clear value of 16s. over all manner of charges which Jane, wife of the said Thomas, had in the said tenement. Nevertheless, if Thomas or his heirs should wish to buy back the premises, they might do so on due warning and repayment within ten years. George Nelson, the purchaser, entered into a bond to keep true to these indentures. Four years afterwards a messuage in Wrightington in mortgage was surrendered to Thomas Standish of Ormskirk by George Nelson. The tenants had been William Hesketh and Alice Robinson. (Deeds, nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9.)

On 7 July, 32 Henry VIII [1540], a family settlement was made, the record of which is perhaps the most important deed yet discovered, for it names not only Thomas Standish of Ormskirk, but his two brothers, John and Huan, and in addition his own daughter Anne. In the feoffment Thomas gave his messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, and all hereditaments whatsoever in Ormskirk, Burscough, Wrightington, Newburgh, Mawdesley, and Croston, or elsewhere in the County of Lancaster, to trustees, the first of whom was the rector of Aughton. The estate was for the

* Probably this settlement was made when the marriage contract between Robert and Margaret was signed. Margaret is not called Robert's wife in the deed.—Editor.

use of Thomas himself for his life, and afterwards during five years for the use of Anne his daughter, provided always that if John, the brother of Thomas, or anyone else who was next heir to Thomas, paid Anne £20, the trustees were to hold the estate for the use of John or the next heir. After the five years the estate was to be held for the use of the right heir of Thomas legitimately begotten; in default, for the use of John, the brother already mentioned, and his legitimate heirs; in default, for the use of Huan, brother of the aforesaid Thomas, and the heirs of Huan. This settlement was sealed by Thomas Standish. Those who afterwards sold the estate may have infringed this trust, and it is very probable that Capt. Myles Standish claimed lands by virtue of the remainders in this very deed. (Deeds, no. 7.)

In 1543 a person appeared on the scene who was destined to have a fateful influence on the fortunes of Standish of Ormskirk. This was a gentleman named William Stopford, sometimes described as of Merton, or Martin in Burscough, and later as of Bispham (the Bispham near Burscough), a township in Croston parish. He was at one time secretary to the Earl of Derby, and is probably the William Stopford who farmed Eccleston rectory in Leyland hundred, and whose gravestone, dated 1584, may be seen in Eccleston churchyard. He was evidently a man of wealth and influence, and he seems to have acquired in parcels part, and perhaps all, of the estate of the Standishes of Ormskirk. The transfer began in the time of the Thomas Standish already mentioned.

On 10 May, 35 Henry VIII [1543], Thomas Standish, for divers considerations and £10, sold (*ad opus imperpetuum*) to William Stopford of Merton all his messuages in Wrightington, lately in the tenure of William Hesketh, Alice Robinson, and Robert Finch. An annual rent of 7s. was to be paid to Thomas and his heirs at Pentecost and at the Feast of St. Martin, in equal portions. Thomas appointed Richard Mason of Lathom and Richard Prescot as attorneys to deliver possession, and was bound in £60 to Stopford to keep the covenant made. (Deeds, nos. 10, 11.) It was probably this annual rent of 7s. from holdings in Wrightington that Thomas Standish of Ormskirk granted to William Stopford for the sum of £5. 3s. 4d. on 24 Apr., 37 Henry VIII [1545]. (Deeds, nos. 12, 13.)

Ill fortune was evidently dogging the steps of Thomas Standish. He was parting with his estate, and moreover he was unhappy in his domestic life. In 1558 (1548 is crossed out in Piccope's transcript) this latter trouble reached its culmination, for on 20 Nov. in that year John Hanson, M.A., Archdeacon of Richmond, pronounced sentence of divorce between Thomas Standish of Ormskirk parish and Jane (Joanna) Stanley, otherwise Standish, of the same parish. The reason given for the divorce was that Thomas was not 9 years old and Jane not 11 years old when they were married. (Deeds, no. 14.)

This sad event is the last we hear of poor Thomas Standish. There is another gap in the records, but in the course of time his son and successor Hugh Standish is found in possession of the estates. On 20 Nov., 9 Elizabeth [1566], Hugh Standish, late of Wigan, gentle-

man, son and heir of Thomas Standish of Ormskirk, surrenders his right and claim to a messuage in Wrightington, in the tenure of Margaret Hesketh, widow, and Robert Hesketh, to William Stopford of Bispham. (Deeds, no. 15.) This refers to the land sold by his father, and we may infer that Thomas had recently died and had been succeeded by Hugh. Jane (Joanna) Standish, widow of Thomas Standish late of Ormskirk, probably the divorced Jane, appears again on 10 Aug. 1569, when she quitclaims to her son Hugh (Hugo) all right and claim that ever she had in all messuages, burgages, lands, and tenements in Ormskirk, Burscough, Newburgh, or elsewhere in the county. A few days afterwards, 14 Aug. 1569, Hugh granted to his mother Jane for life an annuity of 40s. out of all his messuages, burgages, lands, and tenements in Ormskirk. (Deeds, nos. 16, 17.)

Hugh now began a series of transactions with William Stopford in which the estate of Standish of Ormskirk seems to have been bartered away. By a final concord made at Lancaster on Monday in the fourth week of Lent, 12 Elizabeth [1570], he sold or mortgaged to William Stopford and Roger Sonkey, for £40, 3 messuages, 4 cottages, 4 orchards, 26 acres of land, 5 acres of pasture, 4 acres of meadow, 40 acres of moor, and 8 acres of turbary in Wrightington, Newburgh, Ormskirk, and Burscough. Hugh granted them to William and Roger and to the heirs of William. (Deeds, no. 18.) About a year later, on 12 Feb., 13 Elizabeth [1570/1], we find Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, gent., leasing land in Ormskirk for twenty-one years to William Heiton of Birchley, Esq. (Deeds, no. 19.) On 8 Mar., 13 Elizabeth [1570/1], Hugh Standish, son of Thomas Standish, deceased, granted for £66. 13s. 4d. to William Stopford of Bispham all those messuages, lands, tenements, rents, services, and hereditaments whatsoever, which were his in Ormskirk. (Deeds, no. 20.) On 13 June, 13 Elizabeth [1571], Hugh was bound in an immense sum for those days, £200, to William Stopford, to keep covenants specified in indentures relating to Hugh's land "in the town of Ormskirk." (Deeds, no. 21.) A final concord was also made between them on the Monday after the Feast of St. Bartholomew [Aug. 1571], concerning tenements in Ormskirk. Hugh granted to William 6 messuages there and 4 cottages, 10 tofts, 6 gardens, 6 orchards, 12 acres of land, 4 acres of meadow, 10 acres of pasture, 1 acre of wood, and 5 acres of moor. But William regranted to Hugh for life part of the said tenements, viz., 4 messuages, 2 tofts, 3 gardens, 3 orchards, 6 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, and 4 acres of pasture. (Deeds, no. 22.)

William Stopford now made it his care to secure the consent and quitclaim of those interested in the estate of Standish of Ormskirk in respect to these bargains with Hugh. The most interesting release is that given by John Standish of the Isle of Man, evidently the uncle of Hugh, that is to say, the brother of his father Thomas Standish. John has already been mentioned in the settlement made in 1540, when a remainder was vested in him. And the release given by him is highly important, since it shows that at least one member of the family of Standish of Ormskirk settled in the Isle of Man, thus making more probable the view taken by the writer that Capt. Myles Standish belonged to this branch. It also suggests, in the opinion

of the writer, the direction in which we should look for the father and mother of Myles. In a deed, dated 1572, John Standish of the Isle of Man, for divers considerations and sums of money paid him by William Stopford of Bispham, releases to the latter all his rights in all those messuages, lands, and tenements which lately were in the possession of Robert Standish, late of Ormskirk, and all those messuages, lands, and tenements which William Stopford has by the gift and feoffment of Hugh Standish, late of Ormskirk, son and heir of Thomas deceased. The lands, etc., were in the vills or hamlets of Ormskirk and Wrightington. (Deeds, no. 23.) In another deed, which is dated 20 Apr. 1572, and is probably a duplicate differently abstracted, the lands, etc., are described as lately in the possession of Thomas Standish, late of Ormskirk, gentleman, and as lying in the vills of Ormskirk, Wrightington, Parbold, Croston, and Mawdesley. Parbold is perhaps a mistake for Newburgh. Another place, "Kerschagh," appears in the marginal heading, and may be an error for Burscough. (Deeds, no. 24.)

On 3 Oct., 14 Elizabeth [1572], Hugh Standish sold to William Stopford the Mersers Field in Ormskirk. (Deeds, no. 25.) A further grant and concession is dated 29 Jan., 18 Elizabeth [1575/6]; in this deed Ormskirk only is mentioned, but the bargaining away of the family interest there would seem to be comprehensive and absolute. Hugh Standish, late of Wigan, gentleman (the reversion to the old description is noteworthy), grants to William Stopford of Bispham, gentleman, all and singular those messuages, lands, tenements, rents, services, and whatsoever hereditaments he holds in the vill of Ormskirk. He also concedes any claim that he has in the premises for the term of his life or for a term of years. He makes Roger Sonky and Reginald Mason attorneys to deliver possession. (Deeds, no. 26.)

The Jane or Joan Standish who was divorced from Thomas her husband now appears on the scene again, but under a different name. She has evidently married again, and been left a widow a second time. She also has been persuaded by Stopford to renounce any claim to the estate he has purchased. The quitclaim deed, which is dated 3 May, 18 Elizabeth [1576], is in English; and by it Joan Scott of Wigan, widow, who stands endowed of the third part of all the messuages, etc., within the town of Ormskirk that were the possessions of Thomas Standish, sometime her husband, or of Hugh Standish her son, grants, for certain sums of money, unto William Stopford of Bispham and his heirs for ever all her estate, right, and demand in the said premises. (Deeds, no. 27.)

Yet another person gave up all claim to the estate in Ormskirk. The deed leaves us to guess whether his interest had come through his wife, and if so, who she was. On 12 Sept., 19 Elizabeth [1577], a certain Richard Mosse of Ormskirk granted all right and claim that ever he had in all the messuages, lands, etc., in Ormskirk that were lately the possessions of Hugh Standish or of Thomas Standish his father. (Deeds, no. 28.)

Thus, long before the birth of Capt. Myles Standish, a great part, at any rate, of the estate of the Standish family of Ormskirk had been

ton p' manibus solut de quibus fateor me bene solut ipsumq' Georgium inde fore exonerat Dedi et Concessi p'fato Georgio Nelson unum messuagium jacent infra villat de Wrighttington ac omnia et singula terras tenementa redditus et servitia mea cum p'tinenciis eidem messuagio spectant et quo quidem p'missa extendunt se ad annualem valorem sex decem solid Habendum et Tenendum p'fato Georgio Nelson et heredibus suis de capitalibus dñis feodi illius contra omnes gentes imp'petuum Ac Insup' Sciatis me p'fatum Thomam Standisshe constituisse Gilbertum Nelson . . . . Morecroft meos legitimos Attornatos plenam et pacificam Seisinam de et in eisdem p'fato Georgio Nelson delibrand secundum formam huius p'sentis Carte mee In Testimonium Sigillum meum Apposui Testant Henrico Standanought Petro Prescot Capellanis Jacobo Assheton yeoman et aliis Dat apud Wrighttington decimo quarto die Julii Anno Henrici octavi tricesimo primo [1539] (Additional MS. 32104, no. 1341.)

5

[*Margin:* [156] Standishe Thomas 1238 Wrightington]
This indenture made the eighteenth day of July, 31 Henry VIII [1539], between Thomas Standishe of Ormskirk and George Nelson witnesses that Thomas has sold to George for £10 a messuage, land, and meadow in Wrightington of the clear [annual] value of 16 shillings "over all manner of charges &c which Jane wife unto the said Thomas hath in the said mese or tenement." Nevertheless if Thomas Standish or his heirs wish to buy back again the said tenement, they may do so, after giving due warning and making repayment at any time within ten years. (Towneley MSS., GG. 1238. Duplicates: *Ib.*, GG. 1326, RR. 992.*)

6

[*Margin:* Nelson George 993]
Noverint me Georgium Nelson de Croston in Comitatu Lanc' yeoman obligari Thome Standish Ormiskerke in 100 marcas &c Sigillo meo sigillat dat 18 [?13] die Julii An° 31 Hen^r 8^vi [1539]
The condicon is such yt if ye above bound' George Nelson perform all covenants specified in a payre of Indentures made betwixt ye abovenamed p'tyes bearcing Date wth theese p'sence yt then this obligacon to be voyd or els in efect. (Towneley MSS., RR. 993. Duplicate: *Ib.*, GG. 1397.)

7

[*Margin:* Standishe Thome 211 Ormskirk, Burscough, Wrightington, Newburgh, Maudsley, Croston]
Sciant quod ego Thomas Standish de Ormskirk generosus dedi et concessi Briano Morecroft clerico rectori ecclesie p'ochialis de Aghton Willimo Laithewaite de Ormeskirke Ectori Morecroft de Ormeskirke predict et Willimo Morecroft de Altegrange omnia et singula messuagia terras tenementa redditus reversiones et servita ac hereditamenta quecunq' cum suis p'tinenciis in Ormeskirk, Burscogh, Wrightington, Newburgh, Mawdesley et Croston seu alibi in com̃ Lanc' Habendum et tenendum prefatis Briano Willimo Ectori et Willimo et heredibus suis de capitalibus dñis feodi illius [ad usum mei prefati Thome] pro toto termino vite mee.
Et post ad usum Anne filie mei prefati Thome pro termino quinq' annorum proviso semper quod si Johannes frater mei predicti Thome [seu aliquis alius prox' heres mei] solvat p'fate Anne viginti libras legalis monete Anglie tunc [volo quod] predicti Brianus, Willimus, Ector et Willimus Stabunt seisiti [feoffati erunt] de predictis terris ad usum prefati [Johannis seu alicujus

* An abstract only has been given of these deeds, which are written in English and differ somewhat from one another.

alterus prox' heredis mei, Et post predict quinq' annos ad usum hered de corpore me predict Thome legitime procreat Et pro defectu ad usum predict] Johannis fratris mei et heredibus de corpore suo legitime procreat Et pro defectu ad usum Huani fratris mei predicti Thome et heredibus de corpore predicti Huani Et pro defectu ad usum rectorum heredum [mei] predicti Thome imp'petuum contra omnes gentes In testimonium sigillum meum apposui. Dat septimo die mensis Julii anno Henrici octavi tricesimo secundo [1540]. (Towneley MSS., DD. 211.*)

8

[*Margin:* [161b] Nelson George 1279 Wrightington]
Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Georgius Nelson de Croston in Comit Lanc' Yeoman pro summa decem Librarū mihi solut p' Thomā Standish de Ormeschurch de quibus Dedi concessi et hac present Carta mea confirmavi prefat Thome Standishe unum messuagium terris et Tenementis cum omnibus et singulis ptinenciis in villa Wrightington in morgagio p' cartā dictae Thomae modo in tenura Willimi Hesketh et Aliciae Robinson Habendum et tenendum sibi et heredibus cū omnibus libertatibus assuetis Contra omnes gentes imperpetuū
Insuper sciatis me prefat Georgiū Attornasse constituisse et in loco meo posuisse Thomas Botill de Lathum meū verū Attornatum ad deliberandum p'fat Thomae et heredibus possessionē et seisinam de et in omnibus illis Terris &c secundum formam septimo die Maii 35 H. 8 [1543] (Towneley MSS., GG. 1279. Probable duplicate: *Ib.*, RR. 1028.†)

9

[*Margin:* Nelson George 525 Wrightingtō]
Omnibus Christi fidelibus etc. Georgius Nelson de Croston yeoman Noveritis me Remisisse Thome Standishe de Ormeskirke generoso in plena possessione die dat p'sentium existen' unius messuagij cum omnibus terris et tenementis cum omnibus suis p'tin' in villa de Wrightington in tenura Willimi Hesketh et Alicie Robinson totum ius que unquam habui in p'd p'missis Ita vero quod nec ego p'fatus Georgius nec heredes mei Aliquod iuris in p'd p'missis vendicare poterimus sed ab omni Accone Juris inde Sumus Exclusi Imp'petuum penitus contra omnes gentes In testimonium Sigillum meum Apposui Dat nono die Maij Anno Henrici octavi tricesimo quinto [1543] (Additional MS. 32104, no. 525.)

10

[*Margin:* Standishe Thomas, 1203 Wrightington.]
Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Thomas Standishe [de Ormeskirke generosus] pro diversis conciderac̃onibus ac etiam pro summa decem librarū sterlingorū mihi prefat Thomae p' Willimum Stopforthe de Merton de quibus fateor me fore solut p'presentes Dedi et concessi e hac present carta mea confirmam prefato Willimo omnia et singula mea messuagia terras et tenementa [redditus et servitia] que habeo in villa de Wrightington infra parochiam Eccleston modo in tenura Willimi Hesketh, Aliciæ Robinson, Robert Finche, Habendum et tenendum &c cum omnibus et singulis p'tinenciis prefato Willimo ad opus imperpetuū de capitalibus dominis feodi illius, Reddendo inde annual mihi et heredibus septem solidos legalis monetæ Angliæ ad festam Pentecost et Sti Martini per equales porcōes. Insuper, Sciatis me prefat' Thomam attornasse et in loco meo possuisse dilectum nobis in Christo Ri-

* The bracketed words are from another deed, BB. 1480, which is either a duplicate or confirmation. There are other deviations, but they are not important.
† This duplicate adds "prat" (meadow) after "tenementis," but is dated in error 25 H. 8.

cardum Masoun de Lathom et Ricardum Prescot [de Newbrugh] nostrum verū et legittimu attornatum ad deliberandum possessionem nomine meo prefat' Thomae secundum vim et formam &c. In cujus rei testimonium ego prefat' Thomas Standishe sigillum meū apposui Dat decimo die Maii anno Henrici octavi tricesimo quinto [1543]. (Towneley MSS., GG. 1203. Duplicates: RR. 987 and Additional MS. 32104, no. 1366, from which the words in brackets are taken; cf. DD. 367, BB. 1396, both given below.)

11

Noverint, etc., me Thomas Standishe de Ormeskirke generosum teneri Willimo Stopforthe de Merton in sexaginta libris legalis monete Anglie, etc. Sigillo meo sigillat Dat decimo die Maii anno Henrici octavi tricesimo quinto [1543]. (Towneley MSS., BB. 1396.)

12

[*Margin:* Standish Thomas 367 Wrightington.]

Sciant quod ego Thomas Standishe de Ormiskirk generosus pro sumā quinq' librarum trium solidorum et quatuor denariorum mihi prefato Thome p' Willimum Stopford de Merton pro manibus solut dedi et concessi prefato Willimo Stopford quandam annualem redditum septem solidorum sterlingorum exeunt de uno tenemento et omnibus terris eidem adjacent cum p'tinenciis in Wrightington Habendum et Tenendum prefato Willimo Stopford et heredibus suis imp'petuum et alterius Sciatis me prefatum Thomam Standishe Remisisse et relaxasse prefato Willimo Stopford et heredibus suis totum jus atq' clameum que unquam habui seu habeo de et in predicto annuali redditu Ita quod nec ego prefatus Thomas Standishe nec heredes mei aliquod jus aut clameum in predict redd vendicare poterimus sed ab omni Actione sumus exclusi penitus contra omnes gentes imp'petuum In testimonium Sigillum meum Apposui Dat apud Ormiskirk vicesimo quarto die Aprilis anno Henrici octavi tricesimo septimo [1545] (Towneley MSS., DD. 367; cf. GG. 1203, above.)

13

[*Margin:* Standish Thomas 1380]

Nov'int me Thomam Standishe de Ormskirke generosum Teneri Willimo Stopforth de Merton in quadragint Libras &c Sigillo meo Sigillat Dat vicesimo quarto die Aprilis Anno Henrici octavi tricesimo septimo [1545]

The Condicon is such yt whereas the above bounden Thomas Standish hath sold unto the above-named William Stopford and his heirs for ev' a certaine Annual rent of 7s. goeing forth of a Tenement and lands in Wrightington if the said William Stopforth and his heires may peaseably have hold and enioy the said Annual rent of 7s without vexacon of the said Thomas This this Obligacon to be voide &c. (Additional MS. 32104, no. 1380.)

14

John Hanson, M.A., Archdeacon of Richmond, divorces Thomas Standishe of Ormskirk parish and Jane (Joanna) Stanley *als* Standishe of the same parish. Dated 20 November 1558 [1548 *has been crossed out*]. Thomas was not 9 years old, and Jane not 11, when they were married. (Piccope MSS., vol. 3, p. 42, no. 117.)

15

[*Margin:* Standish Hugh 371 Wrightington]

Omnibus Christi fidelibus &c Hugo Standish nup' de Wigan generosus filius et heres Thome nup' de Ormiskirk defunct Nov'itis me prefatum Hugonem Standish Remisisse et relaxasse Willimo Stopford de Bispham generoso et heredibus suis totum jus et clameum que unquam habui de et in uno

messuagio cum omnibus p'tinenciis in Wrightington in tenura Margarete Hesketh vidue et Roberti Hesketh Ita quod nec ego p'fatus Hugo Standish nec heredes mei aliquod jus sive clameum in predicto messuagio vendicare poterimus sed ab omni actione juris sumus penitus exclusi contra omnia gentes imp'petuum In testimonium sigillum meum apposui Datum vicesimo die mensis Novembris anno Eliz. nono [1566] (Towneley MSS., DD. 371.)

16

[*Margin:* 405 Standish Joane Ormskirk, Burscough, Newburgh.]

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, etc. Joanna Standish vidua relict Thome Standish nup' de Ormiskirk Nov'itis me dedisse et concessisse Hugoni Standish filio meo totum jus et clameum que unquam habui seu habeo de et in omnibus messuagiis burgagiis terris tenementis existent in Ormiskirk Burscough et Newburgh sive alibi in comū Lanc' Ita vero quod nec ego prefata Johanna nec heredes mei aliquod jus vel clameum vindicare poterimus sed ab omne actione sumus exclusi penitus In testimonium sigillum meum apposui Dat decimo die mensis Augusti anno Eliz undecimo 1569. (Towneley MSS., DD. 405.)

17

[*Margin:* Standish Hugh 215 Ormskirk.]

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, etc. Hugh Standish nup' de Wigan generosus filius et heres Thome Standish nup' de Ormeskirke Sciatis me prefatum Hugonem Standish dedisse et concessisse Johanne Standish vidue matre mee unam annuitatem sive annualem redditum quadragint solidorum exeunt de et in omnibus mesuagiis burgagiis terris et tenementis meis in Ormeskirk Habendum et tenendum prefate Joanne et assignatis suis durante vite naturali predicte Johanne contra omnes gentes In testimoniū sigillum meum apposui Dat decimo quarto die mensis Augusti anno Elizabethe undecimo 1569 (Towneley MSS., DD. 215.)

18

Final Concord made at Lancaster on Monday, 4th week in Lent, 12 Elizabeth [1570], between William Stopford, gentleman, and Roger Sonkey, plaintiffs, and Hugh Standish, gentleman, deforciant, of 3 messuages, 4 cottages, 4 orchards, 26 acres of land, 5 acres of pasture, 4 acres of meadow, 40 acres of moor, and 8 acres of turbary in Wrightington, Newburgh, Ormskirk, and Burscough. Plea of covenant. Hugh granted them to William and Roger and the heirs of William. Plaintiffs paid to Hugh Standish £40. (Pal. of Lanc. Feet of Fines, bundle 32, m. 112. Towneley MSS., GG. 1402, RR. 942.*)

19

12 February, 13 Elizabeth [1570/1], Hugh Standish of Ormskirk, gent., leases to William Heiton of Birchley, esq., land in Ormskirk for twenty-one years. (Piccope MSS., vol. 3, Hesketh Deeds, no. 137.)

20

[*Margin:* Standishe Hugh 365 Ormschurch.]

Sciant quod ego Hugo Standishe de Ormeschurche generosus filius Thome Standishe defunct pro sumā sexagint sex librarum tresdecem solidorum et quatuor denariorum legalis monete Anglie mihi prefato Hugoni Standishe p' Willimo Stopforde de Bispham generosum solut dedi et concessi predicto Willimo Stopford omnia illa messuagia terras tenementa redditus et servitia et hereditamenta mea quecunq' cum omnibus p'tinenciis suis in Ormeschurche

* These records are in Latin, and an abstract only has been given.

Habendum et Tenendum prefato Willimo Stopford et heredibus suis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius contra omnes gentes imp'petuum Ac insup' Sciant me prefatum Hugonem Standishe constituisse Arthurum ffinch et Vanum Blakelaighe meos legitimos attornatos plenam et pacificam possessionem prefato Willimo Stopford delibrandum secundū formam hujus carte mee In testimonium Sigillum meum Apposui Dat octavo die mensis Marcii Anno Eliz decimo tertio [1570/1] (Towneley MSS., DD. 365. Kuerden MSS., vol. 2, fo. 144b.)

21

[*Margin:* Standish Hugh 1200 Ormschurch.]

Noverint universi p' presentes me Hugonem Standishe filium Thomae Standishe nuper de Ormeschurch defunc Teneri et firmiter obligari Willimo Stopford de Bispham in ducentis libris bonæ et legalis Solvendum eidem Willimo aut heredibus Dat [13 June] 13 Eliz^h [1571].

The condiĉon of this obligacon is such yt if ye above bounden Hugh Standish and his heires doe well and truely keepe and p'forme all and singular covenants graunts and agreements specified in one paire of Indentures betweene ye said Hugh upon ye one p'te and ye above named William Stopford upon ye other p'ty for and concerning certain land of the sd Hugh in ye Towne of Ormeschurch That then this shall be voyd, etc, (Towneley MSS., GG. 1200. Duplicate: RR. 988, with marginal note, "219b," which may relate to Deed no. 22 and denote that this deed, no. 21, is the bond accompanying the fine.)

22

On the Monday after St. Bartholomew, 13 Elizabeth [1571], a final concord was made at Lancaster between Hugh Standish, gentleman, and William Stopford concerning 6 messuages, 4 cottages, 10 tofts, 6 gardens, 6 orchards, 12 acres of land, 4 acres of meadow, 10 acres of pasture, 1 acre of wood, and 5 acres of moor in Ormskirk. Hugh granted them to William, but the latter regranted to Hugh Standish for life 4 messuages, 2 tofts, 3 gardens, 3 orchards, 6 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow, and 4 acres of pasture, part of the said tenements. (Pal. of Lanc. Feet of Fines, bundle 33, m. 25. Towneley MSS., DD. 219. Kuerden, vol. 2, fo. 144b.*)

23

[*Margin:* Standishe John 1222 Ormschurch Writington]

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, etc. Johannem Standishe de Insula de Mane pro diversis bonis causis et concideracionibus me movent et pro diversis summis pecuniarū p' Willimum Stopford de Bispan remisisse relaxasse pro me et heredibus imperpetuum Totum jus statum et titulum que habeo in omnibus illis messuagiis terris et tenementis que nuper fuerunt possessione Roberti Standish nuper de Ormeschurch Et omnia et singula illa messuagia terra et tenementa etc. que dictus Willimus habuit ex dono et feoffamento Hugonis Standish nuper de Ormeschurch filio et herede predict Thomae quod p'dict Thomas est defunct In villis sive hamlet de de [*sic*] Ormeschurch et Wrightington, Contra omnes homines imperpetuum defendimus In cujus rei testimoniū huic present scripto sigillum meum apposui Dat anno Elizabeth decimo quarto 1572. (Towneley MSS., GG. 1222.)

24

[*Margin:* Standish, John 1045 Ormschirch, Wrightinton, Parbold, Croston, Maudsley, Kerschagh [? Burscough].]

Omnibus Christi, etc. Johannes de Standish de Insule de Mann geñ salutem Noveritis me relaxasse Willimo Stopford totum jus in omnibus

* These records are in Latin, and an abstract only has been given.

messuagiis terris et tenemt^is que nuper fuerunt possessiones Thome Standish nuper de Ormiskerke gener jacent in villis de Ormiskerke et Wrightington, Parbold, Croston Maudisley et Ormischurch, etc. Ita qd nullu jus vendicare potterimus, etc. In testimonium, etc. Dat 20° die mensis Aprilis ano 14 Eliz^he 1572 (Towneley MSS., RR. 1045. *Vide supra*, Deed no. 23.)

25

[*Margin:* Standish Hugh 402 Ormskirk.]

This Indenture made ye third day of October in ye 14th yeare of Eliz' [1572] Betweene Hugh Standish gent sonne and heire of Thomas Standish late of Ormskirk of ye one p'ty and William Stopford of Bispham gent of ye other p'ty Witnesseth y^t the said Hugh Standish for and in Consideration of ye some of fourty five shillings to him paid hath therefore given and granted unto the said William Stopford and his heires all yt one closure or p'cell of Land called ye Mersers feild in Ormiskirke wth ye Appurtenances To have and to hold to the said William Stopford his heirs and assigns for eu' In Witnes whereof ye p'ties aforesaid have put X theire seales. (Towneley MSS., DD. 402. Kuerden MSS., vol. 2, fo. 144b.)

26

[*Margin:* Standish Hugh 403 Ormskirk]

Sciant quod ego Hugo Standish nup' de Wigan generosus filius et heres Thome Standish Dedi et concessi Willimo Stopforth de Bispham generoso omnia et singula illa messuagia terras tenementa redditus et servitia et hereditamenta mea quecunq' cum p'tinenciis infra villam de Ormskirk Ac etiam clameum meum predictorum premissorū que habeo pro termino vite aut pro termino annorū Habendum et tenendum prefato Willimo Stopford et heredibus suis de capitalibus dominis foedi illius contra omnes gentes imp'petuum Ac insup' sciatis me prefatum Hugonem Standish constituisse Rogerū Sonkey et Regnaldum Mason meos legitimos attornatos plenam et pacificam possessionem prefato Willimo Stopford delibrandum secundum formam hujus carte mee In testimonium sigillum meum apposui Dat vicesimo nono die Januarii Eliz. decimo octavo [1575/6]. (Towneley MSS., DD. 403.)

27

[*Margin:* Scott Joane 236 Ormeskirk]

To all men, etc. Joane Scott of Wigan widowe sendeth greeteing whereas the said Joane dothe stand endowed of ye third parte of all ye messuages lands tenem^ts rents and hereditamt^s w^thin ye Towne of Ormeskirke yt were ye possessions of Thomas Standish sometyme her husband or of Hugh Standish her sonne Know ye me ye said Jane Scott for certaine Sumes of money To have granted unto William Stopporthe of Bispham gent and to his heires for ever all and singular yt her estate right and demand wch she hath of and in the said premisses So yt neither I the said Joane nor my heirs . . . any right clayme or demand in or to ye said premisses but are from all right utterly excluded for ever. In Witnes whereof I the said Joane have put my Seale Dated ye third day of May in ye 18th year of Elizabeth [1576]. (Towneley MSS., DD. 236.)

28

[*Margin:* 404 Mosse Richard]

Omnibus Christi fidelibus &c Ricardus Mosse de Ormiskirk Nov'itis me pro div'sis pecuniarum Sumis mihi prefato Ricardo p' Willimum Stopford de Bispham generosum Solut Dedisse et concessisse prefato Willimo Stopford et heredibus suis totum jus et clameum que unquam habui seu habeo de et in omnibus et singulis messuagiis terris tenementis redditibus serviciis ac hereditamentis cum p'tinentiis infra Ormskirk predict que nup' fuerunt

At Wolstenholme Towne, archaeologists find fragments of 17th-century colonists' dreams, shattered by hardship and massacre

First Look at a Lost Virginia Settlement

By IVOR NOËL HUME
DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY, THE COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG FOUNDATION
Photographs by IRA BLOCK
Paintings by RICHARD SCHLECHT

IN MID-APRIL 1623 the ship *Abigail* hoisted sail at Jamestown and slipped away down Virginia's James River, homeward bound for England. If Richard Frethorne paused from his labors to watch her go by, tears must quickly have clouded his vision. Frethorne was an emotional and unhappy man. "I thought no head had beene able to hold so much water as hath and doth dailie flow from mine eyes," he wrote. The life of a Virginia colonist was not for him.

Frethorne was one of hundreds of servants, many of them indentured, who arrived at the fledgling British colony in its early years. Driven by economic and family problems at home and buoyed by the prospect of a new life in the New World, they learned their first bitter lessons herded aboard ships like the *Abigail,* which had sailed from England in October 1622.

VITAL CLUES in a gripping detective story, the earliest dated piece of British-American pottery yet found (**above**) and two helmets, brilliantly restored (**left**), reopen a forgotten chapter in our colonial past.

On March 22 of that year, Virginia Indians, led by warrior chief Opechancanough, had risen against the colonists, massacring them in their homes and in the fields. When news of the disaster reached England, the Virginia Company of London assembled relief supplies and shipped them out aboard the *Abigail.*

Along with quantities of old armor and weapons from the Tower of London to rearm the survivors, the ship carried about 150 new settlers and the provisions necessary to sustain them, including barrels of beer—beer which, according to one passenger "stunke so I could not

endure the deck for it." Later, brewer Duppa, the London supplier of the beer, would be accused by the colony's treasurer of transmitting a "contagion" that spread from ship to shore and throughout the already ailing population.

Richard Frethorne, who had survived a voyage in which infection spread so fast that "after a while we saw little but throwing folkes ouer boord," found that he had been assigned to a plantation where only two houses and "a peece of a Church" had escaped the March massacre. Named Martin's Hundred after one of its London shareholders, the plantation stood beside the river about ten miles east of Jamestown, and at its founding in the spring of 1619 was home to more than two hundred settlers.

There were only about twenty left when Frethorne arrived in December 1622, and according to him, when the *Abigail*'s food reached them, they gorged themselves to a point where "itt killed them that were ould Virginians as fast, as the scurvie & bloody fluxe did kill us new Virginians."

Before long Frethorne was reduced to rags, not a shirt on his back. Even his cloak was stolen by one of his "owne fellowes" and traded for food. To his parents he wrote, "I neuer felt the want of father and mother till now, but now deare frends full well I knowe and rue it although it were too late before I knew it."

It was indeed too late. Before the year was out, Richard Frethorne was dead, victim of starvation or perhaps Mr. Duppa's beer. Frethorne had been sent to Virginia as a servant to William Harwood, "governor" of Martin's Hundred and leader of a group of settlers once considerably larger than the number who had landed at Jamestown in 1607, only 12 years earlier. *

Jamestown, however, survived, and Martin's Hundred did not. Harwood never joined Capt. John Smith or John Rolfe on the pages of Virginia history. Sir John Wolstenholme, a prominent Martin's Hundred shareholder who gave his name to the

*From documentary records historians know the general location of Jamestown's original fortified settlement, founded in 1607. Archaeologists believe that the site has been washed away by the James River.

"**We were totally unprepared** for what we found," recalls the author (**right**, at right). He had been directing the exploration of Carter's Grove, an 18th-century plantation near Williamsburg. Then came the surprise: thousands of artifacts from the previous century unearthed at three sites. His team found postholes marking the site of the earliest town plan in British America yet revealed by archaeology—Wolstenholme Towne, the seat of a settlement known as Martin's Hundred. Its first colonists, arriving aboard the *Gift of God,* docked at Jamestown in April 1619 and were ferried (**left**) to their new home, about ten miles down the James River.

DAVID L. ARNOLD, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC STAFF

settlement's central community, had to rely on desolate geographical features of Greenland and the Hudson Bay region to keep his name on the map. Even Martin's Hundred was destined for oblivion, its name first corrupted to Merchant's Hundred, and then succeeded by a much more enduring Virginia plantation name: Carter's Grove.

For close on 350 years the remains of Wolstenholme Towne would lie buried and forgotten—until archaeologists looking for something quite different came upon them. But even then, a few dirty marks in the soil and a handful of potsherds did not hint that we had stumbled upon one of the most dramatic incidents in American colonial history—or that there we would uncover postholes offering evidence of the earliest town plan yet excavated in British America, together with some truly astonishing artifacts.

So far it has taken us more than three years of painstaking digging (with the support of the National Geographic Society) to reconstruct what happened there and to put Martin's Hundred securely back on the map (pages 744-5).

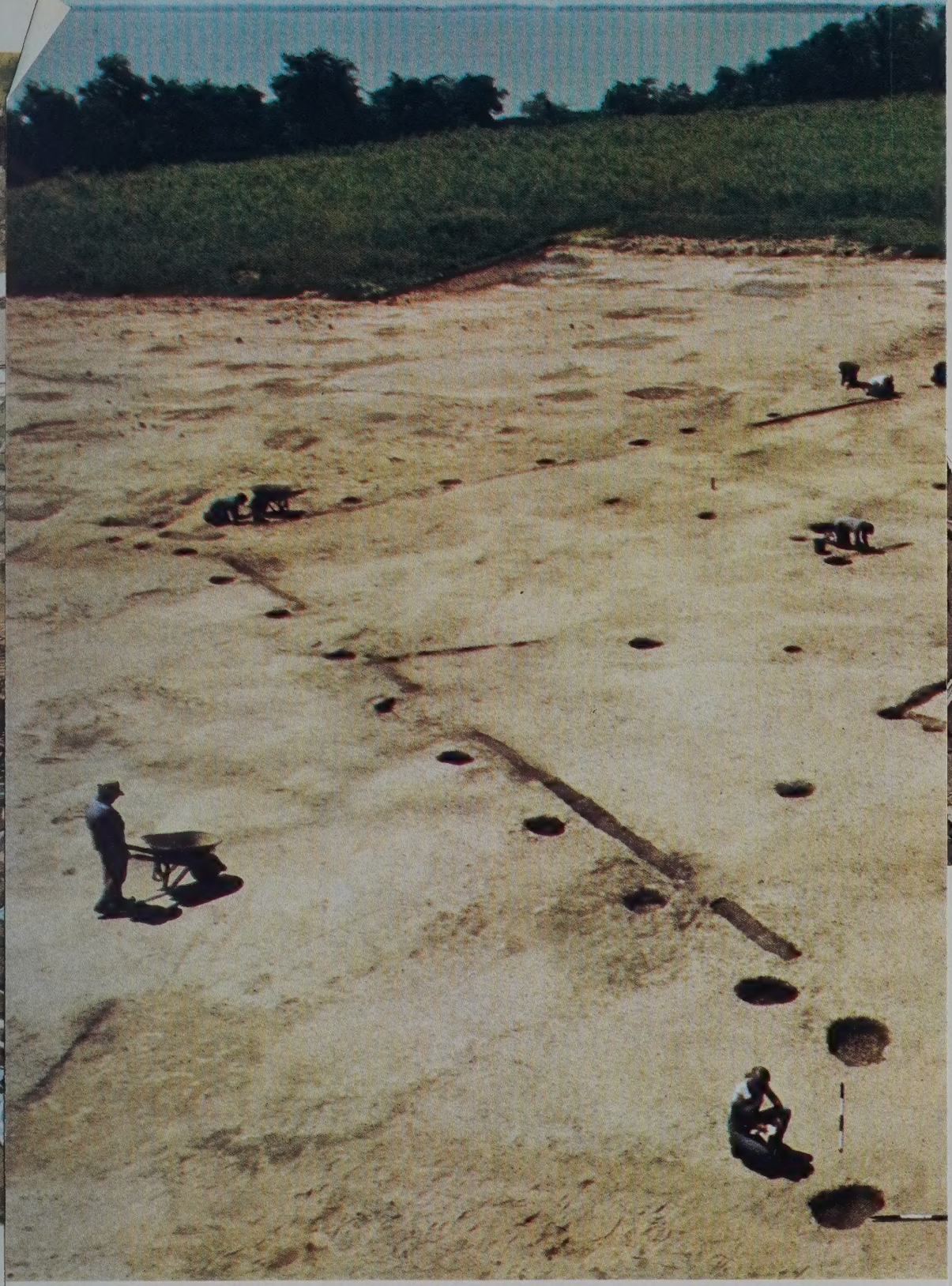
IN 1969 the 18th-century Carter's Grove mansion and more than 500 surrounding acres were deeded to the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation to create an exhibit interpreting colonial plantation life. As Colonial Williamsburg's director of archaeology, I was given the task of organizing the 1970 exploration of those acres in search of buried clues to help re-create the mansion's 18th-century environment—and as survey archaeologist Dr. William M. Kelso often reminded me, 500 acres was a lot of territory. About half had been plowed for centuries; the rest was wooded gullies and marshland, and always had been.

Through the woods, Bill's survey team dug hundreds of test holes looking for even the smallest traces of past occupation: a nail, a scrap of brick, a potsherd—anything that would say "somebody did something here!"

The plowed fields posed another problem. There the land surface had been turned over time and time again, destroying the accumulated layers of soil and refuse that man leaves behind on his homesites, and that might otherwise provide *(Continued on page 747)*

They had come to stay, a company of men and women determined to hack Martin's Hundred out of the wilderness and make it a going concern. First order of business: Build a town. This is how it may have looked between 1619 and 1622.

Revealed when the archaeologists stripped away a layer of plowed earth, patterns of holes where fences and structures once stood diagram what almost certainly was part of long-forgotten Wolstenholme Towne (**inset**). Designated



The earliest complete ground plan of a British colonial wooden fort yet unearthed is outlined by postholes and ground slots dug to seat timbers. But why were most posts nine feet apart? Archaeologists had long envisioned such forts with posts set side by side to repel arrows. Instead, the Colonial Williamsburg team deduced that

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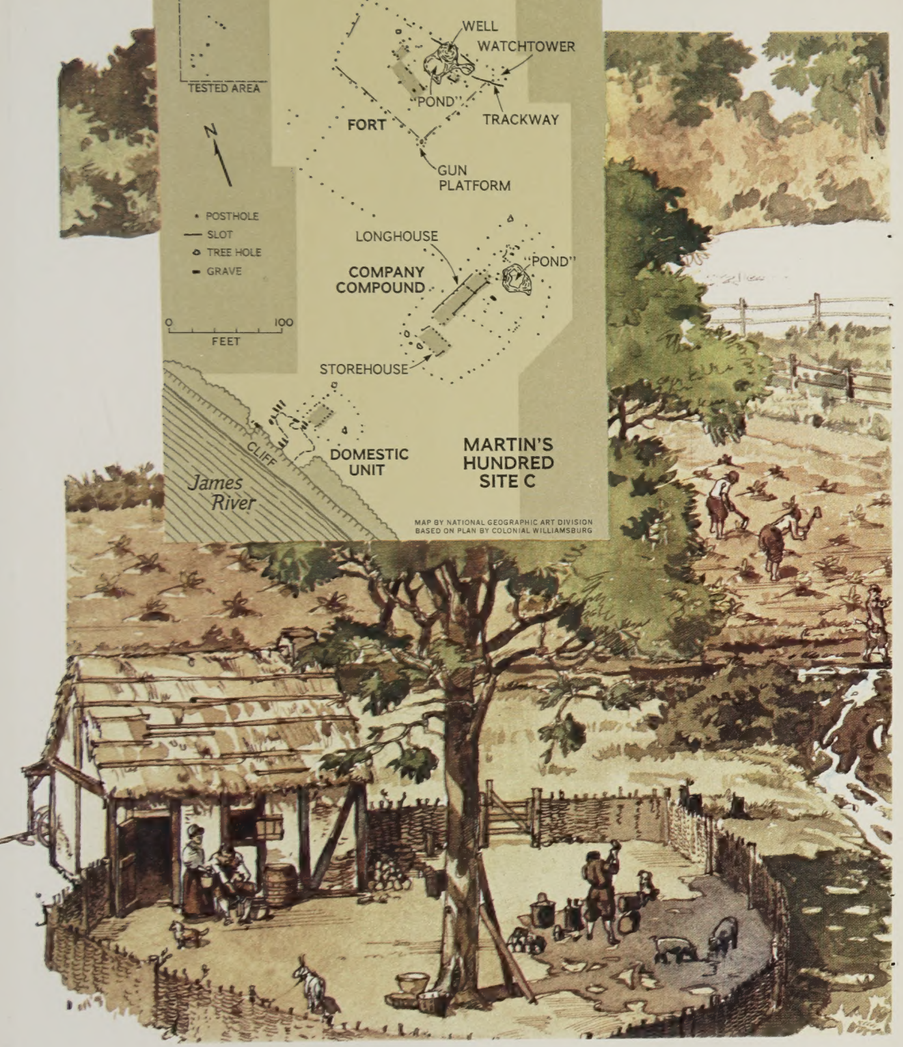


They had come to stay, a company of men and women determined to hack Martin's Hundred out of the wilderness and make it a going concern. First order of business: Build a town. This is how it may have looked between 1619 and 1622.

Revealed when the archaeologists stripped away a layer of plowed earth, patterns of holes where fences and structures once stood diagram what almost certainly was part of long-forgotten Wolstenholme Towne (**inset**). Designated Site C, the most extensive of the 17th-century sites excavated at Martin's Hundred, about four acres of the town have thus far been discovered, although the James River has probably eroded an equal area.

The settlement's leader may have lived in the fort, background, that served the community as a refuge from attack by Indians. Besides the colonists' crops of tobacco, used locally for barter, they raised food staples that included corn and livestock, such as the goats and hogs inside a wattle fence around the cottage at far left. In a company compound, above, a longhouse, at right, is adjoined by a byre or stable, flanked on the left by a storehouse.

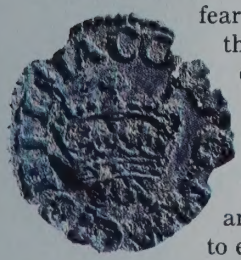
The elements of the Martin's Hundred settlement that have been found thus far come tantalizingly close to a design that was employed during the same period by fellow English colonists—an ocean away in Ireland.

IVOR NOËL HUME

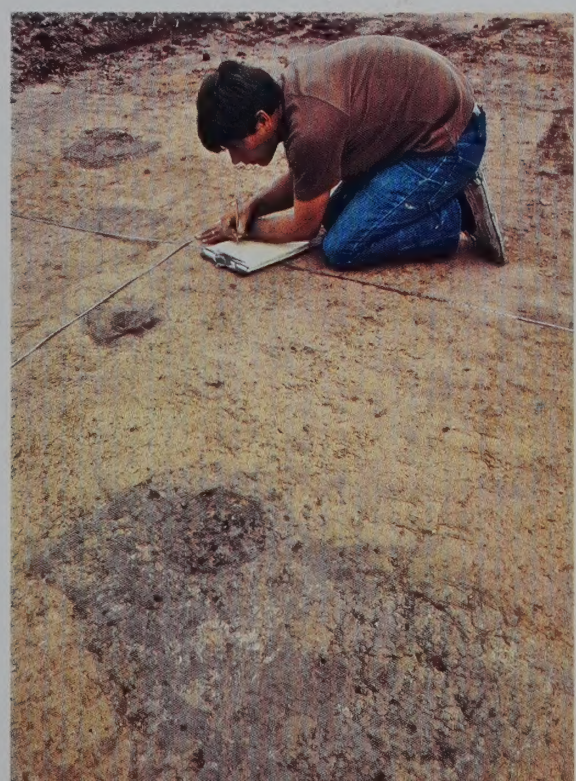
a palisade fence with rails and planks connecting the posts—an irregular trapezoid enclosing about 10,000 square feet—had been Wolstenholme's refuge. In center foreground, four holes delineate a square watchtower. Within the fort, structures once existed, sketched by holes that yielded ashes—clues to a fiery disaster.

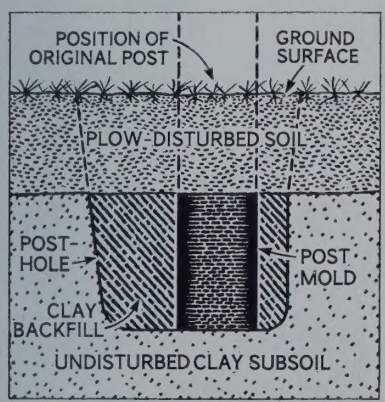
Remnants of a "Pallizado" Reveal the Settlement

SETTLER'S LOSS, archaeologist's gain: Found in one of the fort's ground slots, a tiny tinned copper coin known as a Harington farthing (**below**) was minted in England for only three months in 1613. Wolstenholme Towne's fort (**right**) was built six years later, probably in the manner of Jamestown's "Pallizado of Planckes and strong Posts. . . ." At center, colonists position a cannon to face the river, reflecting their fear of an invasion by the Spanish, a powerful threat from the south. At right, workers build a three-foot-high platform of earth and timber, designed to enable defenders to rest their muskets in notches between palisade planks, about 7½ feet tall.



The faint evidence left by these structures challenges archaeologists like William R. Henry, Jr. (**below right**), here plotting ash-filled postholes. Posts leave two marks (**bottom**). In the hole's outer perimeter, where earth was filled in around the post, the most recent artifact found gives a date after which the post was erected. In the small inner area, called the post mold, the most recent artifact found gives a date after which the post had rotted, burned, or was pulled out.





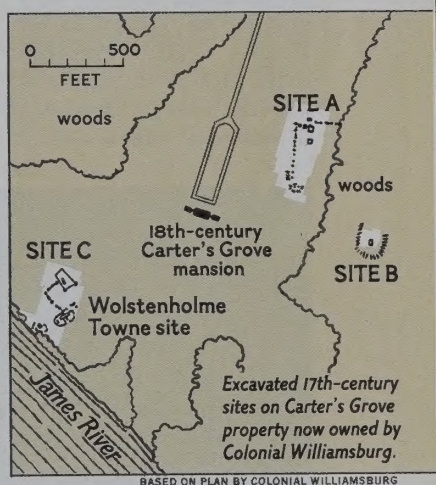
DIAMETER OF COIN 0.4 INCHES; DAVID BRILL (RIGHT)


35
36
37
Occi-dens
The Sea of China and the Indies.
Sir Francis Drake was on this sea and landed An° 1577 in 37. deg. where hee tooke Possession in the name of Q: Eliza: Calling it new Albion.
Whose happy shoers, (in ten dayes march with 50 foote and 70 hors men from the
and through the rich adiacent Vallyes beautyfied with as proffitable rivers, whic
Indian sea, may be discoverd. to the exceedmg benefit of Great Brittain, and joye
Mangoacke's C.
Mamkes C.
Ould VIRGINIA
RAWLIANA
Carolana
Mericies
Scotan
Sassafras tree
Ca. Feare
Dazamonick
Rolly Marin
Chawanoke River
Chartsey
Henrico City
James Towne
Pavankatank
Wocsquok
Nansamond River
Mathias hundred
Elizabeth City
Lin haven
Worke River
The Bay
Hornek Ile
Cape Henry
Cape Charles
Smiths
C. Hatteras
MARE ATLANTI
Col: Littletons Plan
The Easterne shore
land Squire Yearleys
John Goddard sculp:
Domina Virginia Farrer Collegit. Are sold by I. Stephenson at ye Sunn belon
Orientis

PATHWAY TO PROSPERITY, the earliest known map showing Martin's Hundred directed settlers up the James River to China. The 1651 map (with west at the top) led them to believe that just beyond Virginia's "Vallyes beautyfied" awaited the riches of the Orient, only "ten dayes march . . . from the head of Ieames [James] River." The colonists who had suffered in this alleged Virginia paradise did not know that the Orient was actually about 11,000 miles away, but they would have wondered why no copperheads, voracious insects, or hostile natives were depicted along with the birds and bunny rabbits.

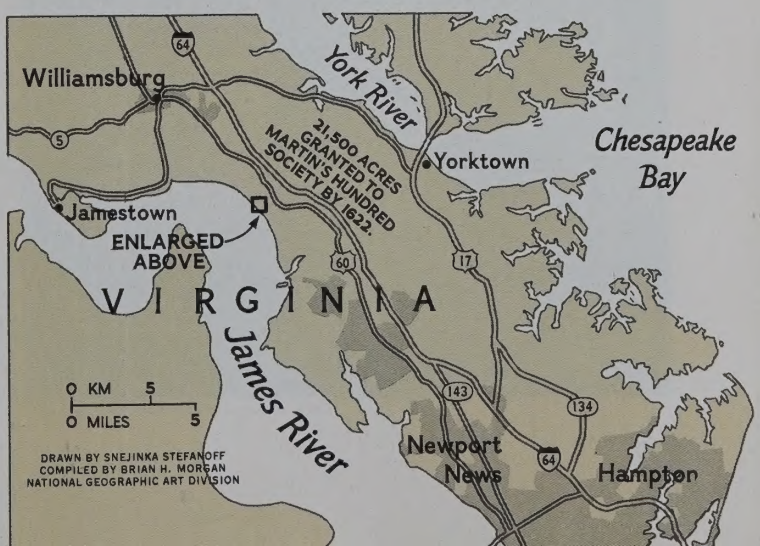
The reality was that after the Virginia Company of London staked its fortune at Jamestown in 1607, most of its planters were lucky merely to survive, let alone show a profit. So in 1616, when dividends from the company's original "Incorporations" came due, all the enterprise had to offer was more land. That it did—to private adventurers and joint-stock companies such as the Martin's Hundred Society, named for shareholder Richard Martin. Another was Sir John Wolstenholme, for whom the society's town was named. Through investments by these and other like-minded entrepreneurs, a tide of settlements called "particular plantations" flowed up and down the James and peopled its banks.

Martin's Hundred—a "hundred" once meant a tract big enough to sustain a hundred families—was allotted at least 21,500 acres (**bottom**). The first settlement, with an initial population of about 200 people, was founded in 1619 on Site C (**right**). Later, several structures were built around a large house at nearby Site A, where residents discarded bits of bottles and pottery—datable trash indicating occupation between about 1625 and 1645. In the same period a house stood at Site B. Archaeological evidence has yet to be found pointing to occupation in Martin's Hundred beyond the 1650's.



Excavated 17th-century sites on Carter's Grove property now owned by Colonial Williamsburg.

BASED ON PLAN BY COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG



MAP OF VIRGINIA DRAWN BY JOHN FARRER, 1651, WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR

As the mystery unfolded, archaeological detectives trailed evidence of a man of means, perhaps William Harwood, "governor" of Martin's Hundred. A latecomer to the Virginia colony, he joined its governing council, which in 1621 forbade "any but ye Council & heads of hundreds to wear gold in their cloaths." Found on Site A, an inch-long scrap of woven gold called a point, similar to those shown on a garter in this 1621 painting of Sir Henry Paiton by Flemish artist Daniel Mytens (**right**), may once have adorned Harwood himself.

Likewise, a cast-iron fireback decorated with the royal arms of England bespeaks a wealthy owner. Discovered inside the fort, metal fragments (**below right**) comprise part of the motto of the Order of the Garter, HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE—"evil to him who evil thinks." Beneath the L on the upper piece, a unicorn's hoof proved to be in an identical position with another on a copy of an English fireback (**below**) dated 1621. Did Harwood live first in the fort and later in a house at Site A?

COURTESY SIR HEREWARD WAKE, BT (TOP RIGHT)

(Continued from page 737) archaeologists with the earth sequences that help them to figure out who did what—and when.

All we could hope to find amid the plow-churned acres of Carter's Grove would be those traces of human occupation that might lie deeper than the blade could reach: dark stains in the clay subsoil marking holes once dug to seat building foundations and fences, to sink wells, or to receive household garbage. Such marks would show up only after the nine inches or so of plow zone had been stripped away. But to do that over about 250 acres would have seriously damaged the farmland and cost a fortune. The only sane (but archaeologically frightening) course was to cut—and later refill—trenches across the fields with a mechanical grader, the slices ten feet apart and six wide, broad enough to expose any patterns in the subsoil.

The technique worked well enough, but we encountered a problem: Very few of the subsoil disturbances dated from the 18th century. Instead, scattered through the fields and woods all around the Carter's Grove mansion was evidence of European life there a hundred and more years earlier.

The court records of James City County had been taken to Richmond for safety during the Civil War, only to be burned in the fighting. Because they related to Jamestown and the settlements that grew up in its immediate vicinity, the loss of those records cost the nation one of its primary historical resources. Consequently we have few records to document the legacies and land transactions that converted the 17th century's Martin's Hundred into the 18th century's Carter's Grove or, indeed, to show that there was any connection between them.

For my part, although I had studied 17th-century artifacts for many years, I remembered so little of my early English history I had forgotten that a "hundred" was a term for a county subdivision usually defined as large enough to sustain a hundred households. To most of us it was simply a figure slightly more than 99. We had a lot to learn.

COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG has long enjoyed a reputation as a pioneer and leader in the field of 18th-century architectural restoration, and in 1976 its instructions to me reflected those interests. A two-acre strip of flatland had been left untested in our 1970 survey, untested because we had backed off when we began to uncover graves—seven of them at first—all of unknown date. Now we needed to determine the age and extent of the cemetery so that Williamsburg architects could know whether they might legitimately use portions of the acreage for exhibits of 18th-century plantation life.

If success or failure is measured by how well we fulfill our employers' desires, we failed miserably. By any other standards our 1976 excavations succeeded beyond our most expansive hopes. The 23 graves we ultimately found belonged to a settlement—we called it Site A—dating from the second quarter of the 17th century. They flanked and straddled a fenced lane leading to the site of a major dwelling and at least seven other structures (pages 756-7).

Five of the graves lay in a straight line, suggesting that the bodies were all interred at the same time—perhaps victims of contagious disease. At once Richard Frethorne and the ill-fated voyage of the *Abigail* came to mind. But just as outbreaks of plague were common in England (41,313 died in the London contagion of 1625), so now-unidentifiable maladies carried off hundreds of Virginia colonists. According to a contemporary estimate, between 1619 and 1621 some 3,560 people were sent out from England to join the colonists. About 3,000 died within that three-year period. In short, taking one's chances as a "new Virginian" was a gamble that rarely paid off.

We had found some of the losers. Dr. J. Lawrence Angel, the Smithsonian Institution's curator of physical anthropology, examined the bones in the graves.

"The most startling thing about the skeletons is their youth," he told us. Of 15 graves grouped together, Larry estimated that not one was above the age of 32. Five children had died between the ages of 2 and 8, five women between 22 and 30, and five men between 23 and 32, all of them white.

Very little had gone right for the Virginia colony after its founding at Jamestown in 1607. Although a fragile détente had been reached with the Indians, inconsistent management and lazy labor, coupled with an alien climate and rampant disease, ensured

that when in 1616 it came time to declare the Virginia Company's dividends, the shareholders came away enriched only with more promises. It was then that the company began to offer land patents to individuals and other joint-stock companies willing to invest in America.

One of these was the Martin's Hundred Society, which, like London trade guilds planting settlements in Ireland's Ulster, undertook to build its own company community, to be called Wolstenholme Towne, and to send over enough people to work the land and return a profit.

They reached Virginia in April 1619 aboard the *Gift of God,* and in July the new plantation of Martin's Hundred sent two representatives ten miles upriver to Jamestown to the first legislative assembly to convene in British America. Not until April of the following year did the "governor" of Martin's Hundred, William Harwood, set sail from England. He was a newcomer of sufficient importance to be appointed to the colony's governing council, and he was still a member when in 1621 it passed a resolution to "Supress drunkenness gameing & excess in cloaths [and] not to permit any but ye Council & heads of hundreds to wear gold in their cloaths."

TO MANY, the record of who should and should not wear gold in his clothes can be dismissed as historical trivia, but for us it had a special importance. In one of the Site A rubbish pits, supervising archaeologist Eric Klingelhofer found an inch-long scrap of woven gold, rolled and stiffened at one end. It was an ornament, probably from a man's garter, known in the 17th century as a point, a sartorial embellishment generally worn by men of importance (page 746). Perhaps we had found a trace of the clothing of William Harwood, council member and head of the hundred, the only man who, by that 1621 Virginia law, could wear gold in his clothes.

Unexciting in itself, but perhaps thunderous in its significance, was the discovery of a $3^3/_4$-inch cannonball: The 1625 census lists only one man in Martin's Hundred with a cannon—William Harwood.

Throughout the summer of 1976 the incoming artifacts from Site A continued to point to a household of substance, a place that had been home to at least 108 square glass bottles—an enormous number when one considers that no Virginia household inventory surviving from the first half of the 17th century lists more than five. There were double-handled earthenware flasks from Spain, marbleized slipware plates from Italy, stoneware bottles and jugs from the Rhineland, and tin-glazed ware from England and Holland.

One rare plate differed from any I had seen from Holland or England; its blue decoration looked more like designs on majolica attributed to Portugal. But then I remembered an identically decorated sherd I had picked up several years earlier on a mountain path on St. Eustatius, a West Indian island settled by the Dutch in the 1630's. I had little doubt, therefore, that the plate was Dutch and not Portuguese.

If the quality and variety of the domestic artifacts pointed to William Harwood (or to someone of his social and administrative stature), the largest artifact of all—the house—remained glumly unsupportive. It had left us no brick or stone foundations, no walled cellar, not even a brick chimney base—only a pattern of postholes to show that the building had measured 40 feet by 18 feet, and that in the course of its life a porch or narrow room had been added at one side.

Unexciting as they may appear, postholes can yield vital clues to the birth and death of an archaeological site (pages 741-3). Those faint stains in the clay subsoil at Martin's Hundred would ultimately tell us nine-tenths of the dramatic story that we eventually unraveled.

Similarly, the tedious task of numbering and crossmending often tiny fragments of pottery was contributing something more than patched-up pots: It was reestablishing associations in both space and time. A sherd unearthed from the fill of a cellar, for example, would be found in the laboratory to join sherds from the same vessel dug from a storage pit and a tree hole elsewhere on the site. Such painstaking linkage declared clearly to us that all three holes were being filled with trash at the same time, and that the cellar, by then, had already lost its house. This crossmending process lies at the heart of archaeological interpretation—which explains

why interpretive conclusions may not be reached until several years after the digging has ended.

ONE POTTERY VESSEL required no lengthy mending to tell its story. What it needed was the digging of an entirely new site.

"I think I've found a pottery nose cone!" exclaimed student excavator Richard M. Veditz. It looked more like a Turkish helmet to me—which was not too far off the mark. In the 17th century these conical vessels were often called helms. What Rick had found was an alembic, the top element from a three-part still (page 754).

Glazed on the inside and with a folded gallery around the interior rim leading to a tubular spout, the alembic captured the liquor or medicinal distillate as it cooled, turned liquid, and ran down the glazed wall out through the spout and into a waiting bottle. I knew of several fragmentary examples recovered from European sites, and I had seen them in Flemish and Dutch paintings, but none were as handsome as this. It was a superlative piece of potting, from its finger-decorated spout to its unique conical finial. The potter must have thought so too, for when he finished he dabbed a touch of glaze to the top as a crowning flourish.

As a relic of some master potter from the Low Countries, this discovery would have been cause enough for scholarly ecstasy, but I knew it to be something more. Made from the local Tidewater Virginia clay and found with waste from the kiln where it was baked, the alembic opened a new window on the genesis of American ceramic art. If only we could locate the kiln itself!

Before the 1976 season was over, we were to find more surprising evidence of the quality of early American potting. We learned that at least one potter made decorative ware, dishes embellished either with yellow-slip ornament or with similar designs incised into the clay in the technique called sgraffito. But we found no kiln, and there was nowhere left on this domestic site to look.

Believing that the kiln might be cut into the side of a hill, and knowing that another site of much the same period lay in shouting distance across a ravine to the southeast, we planned to move there in the spring of 1977.

Meanwhile, the crew would spend as much wintertime as weather would permit digging test holes through the woods in search of Wolstenholme Towne. We were now convinced that Site A could not be it. Our dating evidence indicated that the site had not been occupied before about 1625 and that life there continued to about 1645. We had found no signs of any major destruction by fire as we would expect of buildings attacked by Indians in 1622. The new site across the ravine seemed too small to seat a town, and, located above a shallow creek, it offered poor access to the James River.

Unlike Site A, this one (rather unimaginatively identified as Site B) had not been mutilated by plowing. Soil strata laid down in the 1630's had been disturbed only by roots and rodents. Once we moved the thin skin of dead leaves and recently formed humus, artifacts were everywhere. Alas, they belonged to a single, post-built house, and search as we did, there was no sign of a potter's kiln. Again, unlike Site A, this one yielded only a single rubbish pit, but it proved rich in content.

The pit's top layer contained two ax heads—one European, the other Indian—in association with pieces of armor, and at once we thought of the 1622 massacre. Could this be debris buried when the survivors came back to rebuild? Most of the artifacts were hard to date with sufficient accuracy: links from chain mail, an elbow section from a suit of armor, several pairs of scissors, a crystal bead, the lid and bottom of a small brass box, and fragments of local pottery, including pieces matching Site A slipware. On the other hand, finding most of a splendid German stoneware jug made between about 1610 and 1630 did nothing to weaken the possibility that the pit dated to the massacre period (page 751).

Archaeological directors are usually seen watching other people work, and that certainly is a necessary function of a supervisor. But for me, when it comes to the interpretation of critical details, there's no substitute for doing the work yourself. The Site B pit was just such a case, and together with crew foreman Nathaniel Smith, I stayed with it all the way. If we could be sure this was indeed a pit filled in 1622, it would be a Rosetta stone for the dating of colonial artifacts

in use in the first quarter of the 17th century.

Unhappily it was not. At the very bottom of the pit was another fragment of the local slipware—the date 1631 worked into its decoration (page 735). It gave us the earliest dated example of British-American pottery yet found, but it destroyed our massacre theory. The pit could not have been filled until at least nine years later.

Very few artifacts (other than coins) have dates actually marked on them, and the chance of finding a piece of dated pottery from the early 17th century was laughably small, yet many artifacts do offer clues to their place and dates of manufacture—if we are smart enough to recognize them. The little brass box found much higher in the pit's filling was to become a classic example. Stamped on the lid with its maker's mark in the shape of a hand, it reminded me of later Dutch and German tobacco boxes, but I had no proof, nor any clue to its date.

Six months later I learned that an identical box bearing the same marking had been recovered from the wreck of the *Batavia,* a Dutch merchant vessel lost off the Australian coast in 1629, a date extraordinarily close to that of our 1631 dish (page 753).

Failing to immediately date the brass box was not my only error at Site B. When planning the excavation, I had taken care to clear the site of poison ivy and underbrush that might hide venomous snakes, ticks, and hostile insects, but I had failed to consider the vicious deerflies that infest the Carter's Grove woods in summer. Attacking in late June, they made continued work on the site impossible.

The only recourse was to retreat to another of the sites found in our 1970 survey, one in open ground closer to the river. We designated it Site C. Thus luck and an army of deerflies led us to one of the most productive American archaeological discoveries of recent years.

WITH the 1977 summer season half over when we began, I decided to limit our work to an area a hundred feet square where the 1970 testing had shown a large dirt-filled depression in the yellow-clay subsoil. Eric Klingelhofer found that feature again without any trouble, but he was disappointed to discover that about half of the hundred-foot area was totally barren; everything was crammed into one corner within two rows of large postholes set nine feet apart.

As each new hole was plotted, Eric and I became more puzzled. The lines of holes were coming together at a 72-degree angle.

"It looks for all the world like two sides of a triangular fort!" I don't remember which of us said it, but I do know that it was I who quickly rejected the fort theory. Forts, I insisted, had to have their posts set side by

Well-traveled artifact, this handsome German stoneware jug, probably made between 1610 and 1630 (**right**), was pieced together from Site B. Produced in the Rhineland, exported through the Netherlands to London, it crossed the Atlantic to add a graceful touch to a colonist's home at Martin's Hundred. A similar jug appears in "The Listening Housewife" (**left**), painted in 1656 by Dutch artist Nicolas Maes.

DETAIL REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE WALLACE COLLECTION, LONDON

side, so close that an Indian couldn't zap an arrow between them. After all, that was the way the palisade has been built at reconstructed Jamestown, and that's the way they are in Western movies from *Fort Apache* to *Laramie!* But I was wrong—as Audrey, my research associate (who also happens to be my wife), gently pointed out.

Rereading William Strachey's 1625 account of the settlement at Jamestown, Audrey found that he had described the fort as being built "with a Pallizado of Planckes and strong Posts, foure foote deepe in the ground, of yong Oakes, Walnuts, &c." There, then, was our answer: a palisade built with widely spaced posts and with planks between (pages 741-2).

While we were still debating, Eric's team discovered four deeper holes that created a square box projecting eight feet beyond the junction of the two palisade walls. Strachey had a Jamestown explanation for this too. "At every Angle or corner," he said, "where the lines meete, a Bulwarke or Watchtower is raised."

Beside our watchtower, Eric pointed to an irregular soil stain extending both inside and outside the palisade. "There had to be a gate there," he said.

"But that would be hard to defend," I demurred. "Maybe the palisade was later used as a cattle compound, and an extra entrance was added at that time." But again Audrey pointed to the words of William Strachey. Beside each of the watchtowers, he had written, "there is a Gate likewise to goe forth," and at every gate a cannon.

By now we were sure we had stumbled into a palisaded fort. But who had built it, and when?

Surviving documents show that there were several forts or palisaded compounds defending the outlying plantations along the James. Virginia colony treasurer George Sandys was listed as having forts, two of them paled in, on each of his three properties. Every time the wording suggested he had both a dwelling and store buildings inside, indicating that the defenses were more than mere enclosures to retreat into in case of attack.

Although the 1977 excavations exposed only a corner of our fort, the number of postholes inside it hinted at considerable interior construction of one sort or another. The artifacts were more explicit. Fragments of glass bottles, cooking pots, and dishes left no doubt that someone once lived inside the compound—someone of sufficient importance to own a cast-iron fireback decorated with the royal arms of England. Proof came from fragments found at the edge of the large soil-filled depression.

In letters an inch high, the fragments read L:Y—enough for me to guess at the rest: [HONI:SOIT:QUI:MA]L:Y[:PENSE], the motto of the Order of the Garter—"evil to him who evil thinks." My hard-to-impress colleagues, sure that I was making too much from too little, were less vocal on the last day of the 1977 digging season, when another fragment turned up to add three more letters—[MA]L:Y:PEN[SE.] Later, a detail—the hoof of a unicorn—proved to be in identical position to one on another fireback in England, manufactured in 1621 (page 746).

Here was strong evidence that our fireback could date before the 1622 massacre. To ship such a heavy and elaborate household effect from England could only have been the action of someone with considerable money and foresight, someone who was coming to Martin's Hundred with a position to maintain—someone like the "governor," William Harwood.

Was it possible, we asked ourselves, that Harwood had lived inside the fort before the massacre? That the interior of the fort had burned was revealed both by charcoal in many of the postholes and by ashes spreading into the large black patch that Bill Kelso had found in 1970. Scattered along the edge of the depression were burned brick fragments (plus the red baked-clay nest of a mud dauber) and many artifacts that should not have been thrown away, among them the firing mechanisms for five matchlock muskets. We know that in 1625 Harwood had 25 spare "matchcocks" in his arsenal.

THE BIG BLACK DEPRESSION proved to be a silted saucerlike "pond" that fell away at one edge into a shallow well shaft. Filled with silted clay, the well contained an object that took our breath away. Lying on its side was what appeared to be a complete close helmet, the kind worn in Europe by officers and by

Survival tools. Bullets cast in single and multiple molds (**left**) were used to bring down game and answer arrows. Evidence of affluence amid the wilderness, a gilded brass spur (**below**) was discovered on a site occupied after about 1625.

TWICE ACTUAL SIZE

Quality shimmers in the haft of an English table knife (**above**) encrusted with silver in a floral pattern. A little brass box (**left**) bears a hand with a pointing finger. Such details might be ignored by the layman, but they ring bells in the minds of archaeologists. The hand is a maker's mark, and an identical box stamped with the same mark was recovered from the wreck of the *Batavia,* a Dutch merchant ship lost off Australia in 1629. The date helped another tiny piece of the Martin's Hundred puzzle fall into place.

Made in America: An outstanding piece of Virginia pottery called an alembic, the top element of a three-part still (**far left**), came almost intact from Site A. The firebox heated such ingredients as water, leaves, and flowers in the middle section. Steam condensed on the alembic's glazed interior and ran down a channel around the rim, which delivered the distillate —medicinal brews and liquor—to the spout. Pleased with his product, the potter crowned it with a dab of glaze.

A potter's rejects were discovered in a pit in the company compound. Research associate Audrey Noël Hume, the author's wife, pieces some together (**right**): a cream pan (foreground), bowls, jars, a colander, and small pots called pipkins. Made between 1619 and 1622, they represent the earliest known group of colonial Virginia pottery yet found.

cavalrymen in the 16th and early 17th centuries (page 758). To my knowledge no complete close helmet had ever been found on a North American site.

A telephone call to the late Harold L. Peterson, one of the country's leading armor specialists, confirmed my belief. Pete went further: If the helmet really was complete, he said, it would be the first discovered anywhere in the New World.

Details of the helmet's shape were obscured by rust-bonded clay. How much metal survived? I took a thin dissecting needle and gently prodded the rust. The point met little resistance. Then we tried a magnet. No pull at all. I had to tell a tensely waiting crew that although they had found an object unique in American archaeology, our chances of safely moving it were no better than one in twenty. On the other hand, if we could get it into the laboratory, I was confident that conservator Gary A. McQuillen's new metal-preservative techniques would give him a good chance of consolidating the rust and saving the helmet's shape.

Fearing that we were about to go down in the history of American archaeology as those idiots who failed to save the New World's first close helmet, we proceeded with snail-like caution.

We took more than two weeks to build protective walls around the helmet and to lift it and a massive block of the well's silt intact into the laboratory for careful excavation. The task was made more difficult by the presence of another piece of armor lying in the silt beside and beneath the helmet. It was an almost complete armor backplate. But thanks to Gary's skillful reinforcing, that, too, came out intact.

We knew that the 1625 census listed William Harwood as owning "Armours, 8," but it had never occurred to me that these would include helmets any more tightly closed than a burgonet (page 760). With its visor pulled down, our helmet restricted the wearer's vision to two narrow slots looking straight ahead. Its collar limited independent head movement, and with iron covering one's ears, the warning snap of a twig in the forest would have gone unheard.

Englishmen setting out with such armor, and whose combat experience had been limited to campaigns in Ireland or the Netherlands, can have had no concept of what war and weather would be like in Virginia.

IVOR NOËL HUME

Terrible trinity of disease, famine, and fighting once ruled the settlement. But sickness always threatened. Here at Site A, colonists bury a comrade (**above**). On and around a fenced lane lay 23 graves, the dead ranging from infants to an old man of about sixty. Some graves were dug in a row (**left**), probably at the same time, suggesting contagious disease had struck.

Nevertheless, conditions were better than in the early days, when hunger stalked the settlement. "I haue eaten more in [a] day at home then I haue allowed me here for a Weeke," lamented Richard Frethorne, a servant. Throughout Virginia the story was the same. Between 1619 and 1621 about 3,560 people left England to join the colony's settlers. Within those three years, seven out of ten perished.

Thus the Martin's Hundred helmet epitomized the European juggernaut approach to battle, and was to Indian warfare in the 1620's what tanks and helicopter gunships would be to modern guerrilla warfare in Southeast Asia. Although the helmet was the most evocative object we could ever hope to find on the site of a fort, I was sure it was an isolated anomaly, probably discarded for that reason. Wrong again!

Almost exactly a year later, in another silted "pond" not a hundred yards from the first, we were to find a second backplate—and another close helmet.

Not wanting to clear the remainder of the fort's interior before we had located the rest of its palisade lines, we began the 1978 season clearing inland toward the fort from the river. But as soon as we began, we ran into more postholes, holes so far from the fort that they could not be part of it.

They were, instead, the fence, or palisade, lines around an area comprising an apparent storehouse 15 feet by 25 feet and a longhouse, part dwelling and part byre or stable, 15 by 60 feet.

Beyond the longhouse was our second pond, a hole we think was originally dug by a potter to obtain clay, for into it he later threw his spoiled products. Ironically, he was not the man we had been seeking on Sites A and B; his potting shapes and techniques were different, though the range of his wares covered virtually every vessel that a colonist might need: bowls, dishes, mugs, cooking pots, bottles, water jars, colanders, and even perfuming pots to contain smoldering herbs to freshen the air of sickrooms (page 755).

The pond's contents were not limited to potter's waste, however; they included iron tools, a brass cooking pot, and five lead seals once used to identify bales of fabric from the city of Augsburg in Germany. By another extraordinary coincidence I had found an almost identical seal twenty years earlier on the foreshore of the River Thames at London. Eight are now recorded from sites in England and Europe, but the five from Martin's Hundred constitute the largest single group.

Then there were the military items: a sword pommel; part of a powder flask; a bandolier powder cap; two gun barrels (one inexplicably packed from breech to broken muzzle with small lead shot); iron plates from an armored vest called a brigandine; a throat-protecting gorget; plus, of course, another backplate and our second complete close helmet (pages 760-61). This domestic pond had yielded contents uncannily akin to those from the pond in the fort.

Like the fort buildings, those in what we now called the company compound had been destroyed by fire. We asked ourselves: Could both be the result of the massacre? If so, how were we to prove it?

Buildings with thatched or bark roofs were as likely to be set ablaze by an errant candle flame or a spitting log as by the torches of attacking Indians. On the other hand, houses were too far from the fort for sparks to be blown from one to the other. If Indians were responsible, we needed also to find the graves of some of the estimated 58 Martin's Hundred settlers who died at their hands. We had seen no graves in the excavated corner of the *(Continued on page 762)*

ABOVE, BELOW, AND BOTTOM RIGHT BY IVOR NOËL HUME

A Nervous First . . .

INCREDIBLE FIND issues a challenge: Save it. Virtually nothing but rust remains of the first complete close helmet found in the New World (**above**), so named because it entirely enclosed the head. In a process that took more than two weeks, a steel frame was built around the helmet and the clay in which it rested. After an armor backplate beneath it was gingerly removed, conservator Gary A. McQuillen applied a silicone molding compound to the helmet's surface—insurance in case it disintegrated—then added a layer of plaster (**right**). When the 200-pound load was winched up, the team held its breath. It worked.

. . . Becomes a Refined Art

BY THE TIME a second close helmet was found, a hundred yards from the first, the archaeologists had developed a technique that safely unearthed it in six hours.

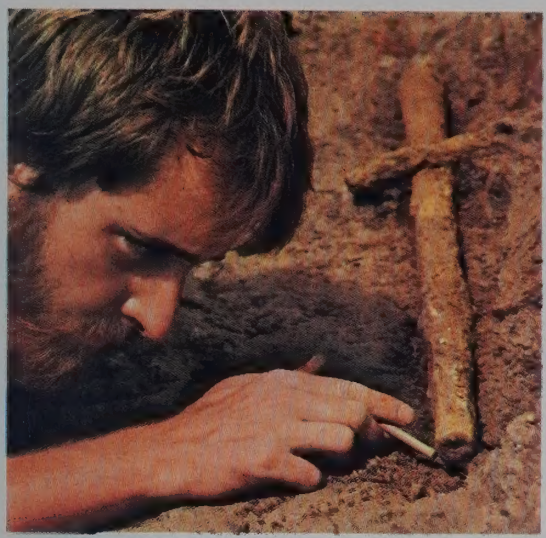
Dispensing with the steel frame and

LEFT, ABOVE, AND BELOW BY DAVID BRILL

silicone mold, the author scraped away the earth down to the helmet's midpoint. Over the exposed side went strips of fiberglass screen softened with cellulose glue. When the glue dried, hardening the screen and bonding it to the rust, the helmet was covered with a blanket of wet paper and then by a protective plaster-of-paris casing. Finally, the buried half of the helmet was undercut, and the mushroomlike plaster mold was inverted, cushioned in an old tire, and borne to the laboratory (**upper right**).

In the lab, conservator McQuillen repeated the process on the untreated half. He then removed the dirt inside the helmet through its open collar and reinforced its interior with fiberglass screen and resin. Next he pried the plaster mold apart, took away the now dry paper, and dissolved the glue and screen on the top half with acetone to confront the original clay and rust. As with the first helmet, he used an airbrasive tool (**middle right**) to delicately pare the surface down to the firmest remaining corrosion, perhaps a millimeter thick. After the procedure was repeated on the other side, the helmet emerged, though part of it was crushed (**right**). He mended the damage and, as he had with the first helmet, applied a corrosion inhibitor mixed with lampblack (page 734).

For protection against the Indians, Virginia colonists were warned to carry arms and wear armor. The labeled pieces (**above**), or parts of them, were unearthed by the author and his team.



DAVID L. ARNOLD

Armor vs. Arrows in a Guerrilla War

FOR THE SALUAGES are so light and swift, though wee see them (being so loaded with armour) they haue much aduantage of vs. . . . Capt. John Smith thus recognized the same facts of life and death that surely dawned on the Martin's Hundred settlers who fought Indians. Properly equipped for European-style conflict, in Virginia they would have been encumbered by heavy armor and a close helmet, which hampered movement, restricted vision, and muffled warning sounds like the snap of a twig under a moccasin.

Dozens of armor fragments excavated from the settlement help re-create the battle dress of its defenders (**left**). Rectangular iron plates (**right**) that fitted together like fish scales were enclosed between two layers of fabric, forming a vest called a brigandine. Discovered beneath the first close helmet, a backplate (**middle right**), worn with a counterpart breastplate, was salvaged with its brass rivets and the ends of its leather straps. Iron links (**top right**) may have formed a shirt of mail.

Student excavator Jeffrey S. Parker uncovers a musket barrel (**above**) inexplicably packed with lead shot from breech to broken muzzle. The author's theory: Perhaps it stored the lead a potter used in making his glaze.

IVOR NOËL HUME

DAVID BRILL (TOP LEFT AND ABOVE)

(Continued from page 757) fort, but crew chief Nate Smith found one in the fenced yard behind the longhouse. It was located so close to an apparent doorway that people would have been forever stepping over it going in and out of the building. Thus, we deduced, the grave's occupant was buried after the house ceased to exist, perhaps interred close to where he fell defending the door while his colleagues fled to the safety of the fort. Imagination was running riot!

Taking more sober stock before we opened the grave, we reminded ourselves that a buried skeleton does not readily identify itself as a massacre victim. We needed evidence of hasty interment, perhaps some windblown ashes from the burned buildings on the grave floor under the body, and above all some evidence of what Agatha Christie fans know as "foul play."

All three were there.

The body had been dumped unceremoniously into the hole, its arms swinging loose and its left buttock jacked up against the wall of the grave. Underneath the body were scraps of charcoal blown or knocked into the open hole. But most revealing of all was the condition of the skull. Physical anthropologist Larry Angel tentatively attributed the cause of death to a frontal blow from a cutting tool like a cleaver, followed by blows to the side or back of the skull while the man lay on the ground.

The back of the head had been reduced to fragments the size of cornflakes and took weeks to piece together, but once it was done, everyone who saw the skull was struck by the strength of the man's features. About 5 feet 9 inches in height, taller than most of the skeletons we found, and with strong wrist development likened by Larry to that of a swordsman, our man has all the attributes of a soldier—perhaps the owner of the second close helmet.

Harwood survived the massacre, but his military lieutenant, Richard Kean, did not, and it is greatly tempting to believe that we have seen the face of the soldier responsible for the safety of the settlers and who gave his life in their defense (pages 766-7).

JUST AS SURVIVORS must have fled from houses outside the fort to the safety of its palisade, so we moved on from the company compound toward yet-to-be-found fort walls. They were there, but not quite where we had expected to find them.

The plan was not triangular, it was four-sided, trapezoidal, laid out by someone trained in the "why don't we stop about here" school of military engineering.

Entered through a small gate on the west side, and protected by inner parapets and a gun platform having a commanding view downriver, this fort must have been designed to defend as much against England's longtime Spanish enemy as against the savages. It almost certainly was the product of instructions given the first settlers when they left London in January 1619.

DAVID L. ARNOLD; DAVID BRILL (RIGHT)

Echoes of pleasure and pain: Virginia leaf, fruit of the colonists' labor, soothed a settler of the 1630's in an English clay pipe (**above**)—an important dating tool often made, exported, smoked, and discarded within a year or two. A delftware ointment jar (**right**) manufactured about 1610 may have held balm to salve cuts or burns.

ALTHOUGH THE DISCOVERY of the oldest complete palisaded fort plan unearthed to date in British America was cause for archaeological euphoria, we soon realized that neither it nor the helmets were the real prize.

Most significant of all was that slowly expanding pattern of postholes on our map. New lines of fences took shape; another house, another yard, then at the cliff edge a cluster of 14 graves, extending a line of colonial occupation all the way from the fort to the river. Here, simple but recognizable, was the record of the earliest town plan yet revealed by excavation on a colonial site in British America.

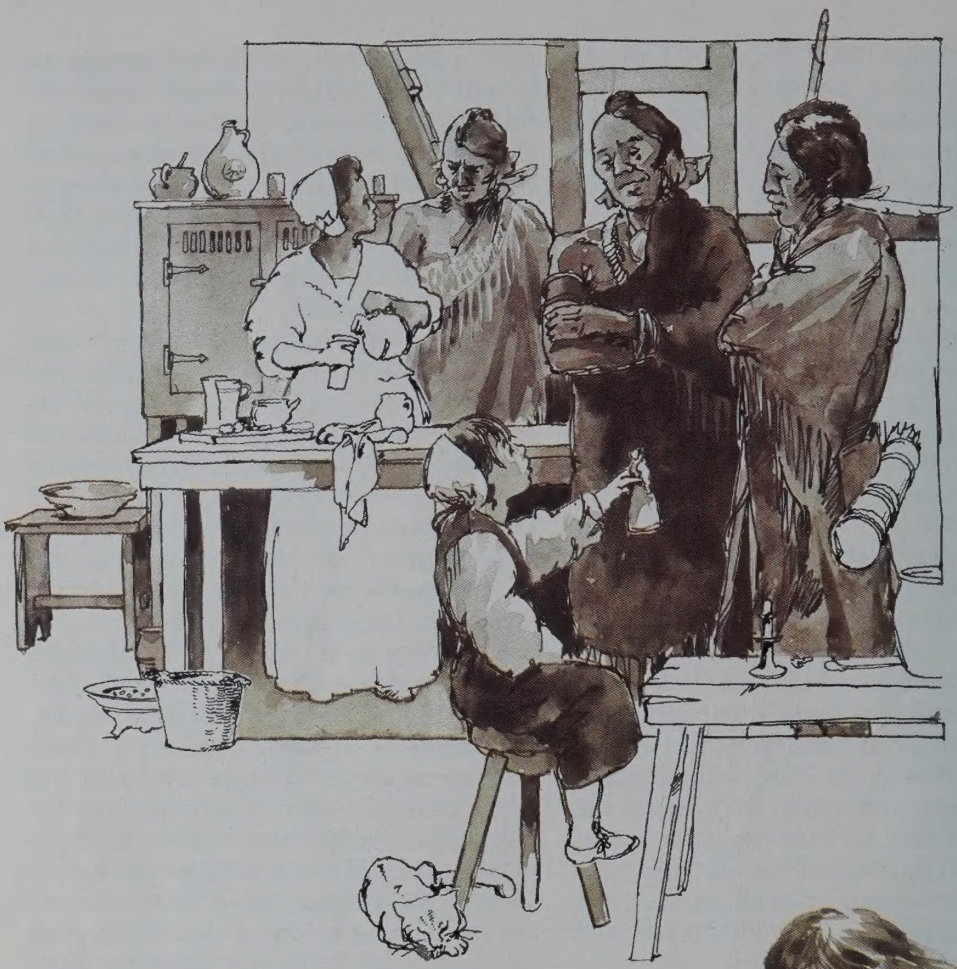
But the plan was by no means unique; on the contrary, it fitted a well-documented pattern of settlements in another English colony where fear of hostile natives made defense a key feature of the plan. In Ireland, plantation settlements in Ulster financed by London companies had three primary elements: a four-sided, fortified enclosure called a bawn, containing the home of the leader; outside it, a wide street, or green, flanked by two rows of tenants' and freeholders' houses; and an Anglican church to cater to the souls of both the settlers and the Irish.

We had our bawn and evidence of domestic life inside it, and we had one row of company houses. We had a cemetery but no church, though we know that the town had one, probably large enough to house 100 or more people, and substantial enough to leave a "peece" of it for Richard Frethorne to find still standing after the Indians had done their worst. Most of all we needed another row of houses flanking the fort to the north. Without them the parallel between the Wolstenholme Towne plan and contemporary drawings of Ulster settlements was incomplete and inconclusive.

Taking a chance that the weather would hold through November, I asked Eric Klingelhofer to start stripping the plow zone beyond the fort in search of that second line of buildings. He began with widely spaced trenches to minimize the disturbance should the subsoil prove barren. But before we had cleared enough to lay out our grid, the weather turned bad. A week of rain transformed the trenches into canals.

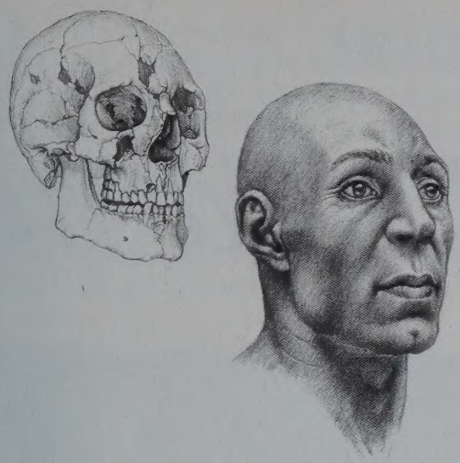
I knew we were beaten. By the time the ground dried enough to let us bring back the grader, nighttime frosts would be turning Wolstenholme Towne's fragile traces into featureless powder. The site would have to be backfilled to protect it until spring.

Had the trenching drawn a blank, disappointment would have been less acute. Instead, in the last hours before the rain began, the crew found a row of the site's largest postholes—the molds containing the now-familiar flecks of wood ash and burned clay. Running parallel to the other domestic units, the line lay 150 feet north of the fort gate, the same distance as those buildings were south of it. *(Continued on page 767)*



Beginning of the end of Martin's Hundred came on March 22, 1622. Recent relations with the Indians had been so cordial that, in settlements throughout Tidewater, "they came unarmed into our houses [**above**] . . . in some places, sate downe at Breakfast." Thus one colonist recounted the coordinated ruse. Suddenly the Indians seized the colonists' own tools and weapons (**right**) and "basely and barbarously murthered, not sparing . . . man, woman or childe." Jamestown, alerted by an Indian informant and thus on guard, foiled the attack. But elsewhere nearly 350 settlers died, about 58 at Martin's Hundred. There, archaeologists sought physical evidence to confirm documentation of the massacre.


RICHARD SCHLECHT



A telltale skull. A skeleton askew from hasty burial. A grave flecked with charcoal. Here lies testimony to a massacre. A bladed weapon, perhaps a spade or cleaver, split the man's forehead (**left**). The back and sides of his skull were shattered, and a cut on the left brow suggests he was scalped. Physical anthropologist Dr. J. Lawrence Angel calls him "a striking figure," tall, muscular, with the wrist of a swordsman—someone like Wolstenholme's lieutenant, Richard Kean, killed in the attack. Artist Jay H. Matternes reconstructed this rugged visage (**above** and **right**), reflecting the archaeologist's goal: to put flesh on the bones of history.

IVOR NOËL HUME (FACING PAGE); DRAWINGS BY JAY H. MATTERNES

VISITORS TO THE SITE ask, "What makes all these holes in the ground so important? What makes the Wolstenholme Towne site unique?"

The questions are direct enough, but the answers are complex. Whenever we open a door into an unknown world, everything we see inside is important. Although traces of the 1622 massacre are intensely interesting and dramatic, and finding the colonists' arms and armor is exciting, what really matters is the new light shed on British life in America in the second decade of colonization.

History shows that in Ulster the Londoners built two fortified communities, Londonderry and Coleraine, but many more of the bawn-protected open villages. Historians have been aware of similarities between Jamestown and the fortified Irish townships, but now we know that the bawn village too had its Virginia parallel—at Wolstenholme. No town layout of so early a date has been excavated at Jamestown; thus Wolstenholme takes center stage as the oldest British domestic settlement plan unearthed in America.

As fog settled over the site and the first thin films of ice stiffened the edges of puddles, Eric and his team of excavators dismantled their tents. Wolstenholme Towne would keep the last of its secrets through one more winter.

How early are the newly found holes? Why are they so large? Can they be a "peece" of the church? If so, why are the graves on the other side of the green? Do the holes really give us the second line of buildings we so badly need to complete the picture?

The questions were enough to keep us all in hot debate until Virginia's welcome springtime sun thawed this rich historic soil. More answers at Martin's Hundred now lie tantalizingly close at hand. □

AN AMERICAN 4-H ADVENTURE

Down on the Farm,

WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED the raw materials of human life are the same the world over—love and hate, birth and death, individual identity and group belonging, work and reward, loss and luck. This shared commonality of human experience ties the human family together just as conflicting beliefs and political animosities drive its members apart.

As our readers know well, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC has long interpreted geography in terms of people who make and shape the landscape, and are made and shaped by it. The people who work with the land—the farmers and shepherds and ranchers of the world—have a great deal in common. Talk of crops and breeding strains, of wind and weather, of drought and bumper harvest, has a cogency regardless of the language in which it is conducted.

Such people-to-people conversations seem to go on far from the center stage of political drama, with its ideological drumbeats and blaring dissensions, and occasionally the GEOGRAPHIC has the opportunity to share in the experience.

It happened last summer, when a group of young 4-H delegates from the United States went to the Soviet Union to share experiences—farmer to farmer. The values in such an exchange seem fresh—a rare warmth and a bit of fun that so often fall victim to the kind of calculated, supervised schedule that thwarts and jades the journalist. The "more important" questions of our time lose some of their weight in the lilt of an accordion's tune and the simple dancing that accompanies a wedding.

How refreshing it is to contemplate the snows of winter, the rising of the sap in spring, the slow turning of the seasonal wheel, the rhythm that human beings have lived by under the succession of a thousand governments.

So, whatever the grand geopolitical context of the time, we are pleased to print this postcard from the country, with its age-old message that men can communicate as well as confront.

Gilbert M. Grosvenor

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

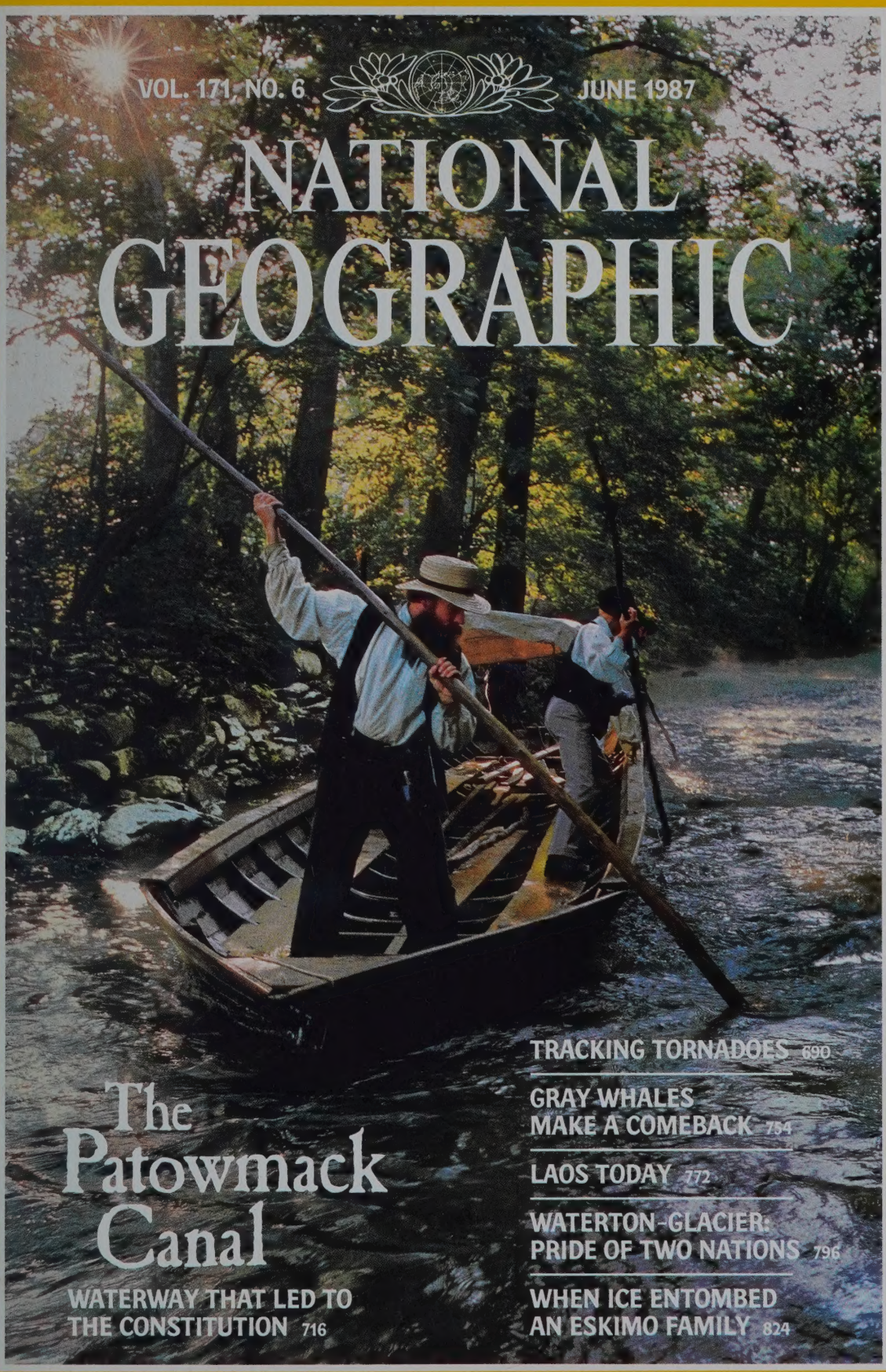
THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE VOL. 155, NO. 6

June 1979

COVER: *A barefoot ballerina dances for her grandfather on a Soviet farm in the Ukraine. Photograph by James Tobin.*

VOL. 171, NO. 6 JUNE 1987

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC



The Patowmack Canal

WATERWAY THAT LED TO THE CONSTITUTION 716

OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY WASHINGTON, D.C.

on atmospheric conditions across the lower 48 states, using a unique, five-year-old computer system called the Centralized Storm Information System (CSIS). It gathers information from satellites, balloons, radar, and hundreds of weather stations, organizes it, and displays it on video terminals.

If forecasters are concerned about how the weather is developing in, say, southern Kansas, they ask the computer for a fresh satellite image of the area. They may call up a rapid display of images made over several hours, to spot developing weather patterns.

Computer-generated weather maps can be superimposed onto the satellite image, as can data from local weather stations on temperature, humidity, precipitation, and wind speed and direction. To determine the stability of the atmosphere, graphs of upper air data from balloons can be displayed.

If the forecasters suspect that severe thunderstorms or tornadoes will hit southern Kansas within six hours, they issue the appropriate weather watch to local weather offices, the media, and spotter networks, including amateur radio groups.

DESPITE THE TECHNOLOGY at their fingertips, the decision to issue a tornado watch always falls on human beings. "There comes a time when numbers don't tell you enough and you have to make a judgment call," said Bob Johns, a lead forecaster at the center. With the safety of large populations resting on his shoulders, Johns describes his job as one of the highest pressured in the Weather Service. "On a typical spring afternoon when I start my shift, the war is going on all around me. I have to get into gear fast. I have to distinguish very quickly situations that are life threatening from those that are marginal."

The center's record for predicting tornadoes is steadily improving. During the past few years, almost all the most violent tornadoes have occurred within watch areas. But many smaller, less damaging tornadoes still elude the forecasters.

"We get about 100,000 thunderstorms a year in the U. S.," said Frederick P. Ostby, director of the forecast center. "Only one percent spawn tornadoes, and two percent of the tornadoes claim 70 percent of the fatalities. What we're trying to do is get a handle on where those 20 or so killer tornadoes will appear and put a watch out two to six hours ahead of time. That's a tough job."

To help local forecasters do their part, the Environmental Research Laboratory in Boulder, Colorado, has been developing a computerized work station under the Program for Regional Observing and Forecasting Services (PROFS). The work station is a prototype of equipment the government plans to install at weather offices across the nation during the 1990s.

Besides providing many of the rapid sources of information available with CSIS—satellite images, radar, surface observations, and balloon data—the PROFS system also takes advantage of two new advances in weather technology.

One is the wind profiler, an automated radar unit intended to complement balloon soundings in reporting wind direction and speed at different altitudes.

The other advance is Next Generation Weather Radar (NEXRAD), a computerized Doppler system that tracks and analyzes storms, especially those with mesocyclones, better than conventional radars.

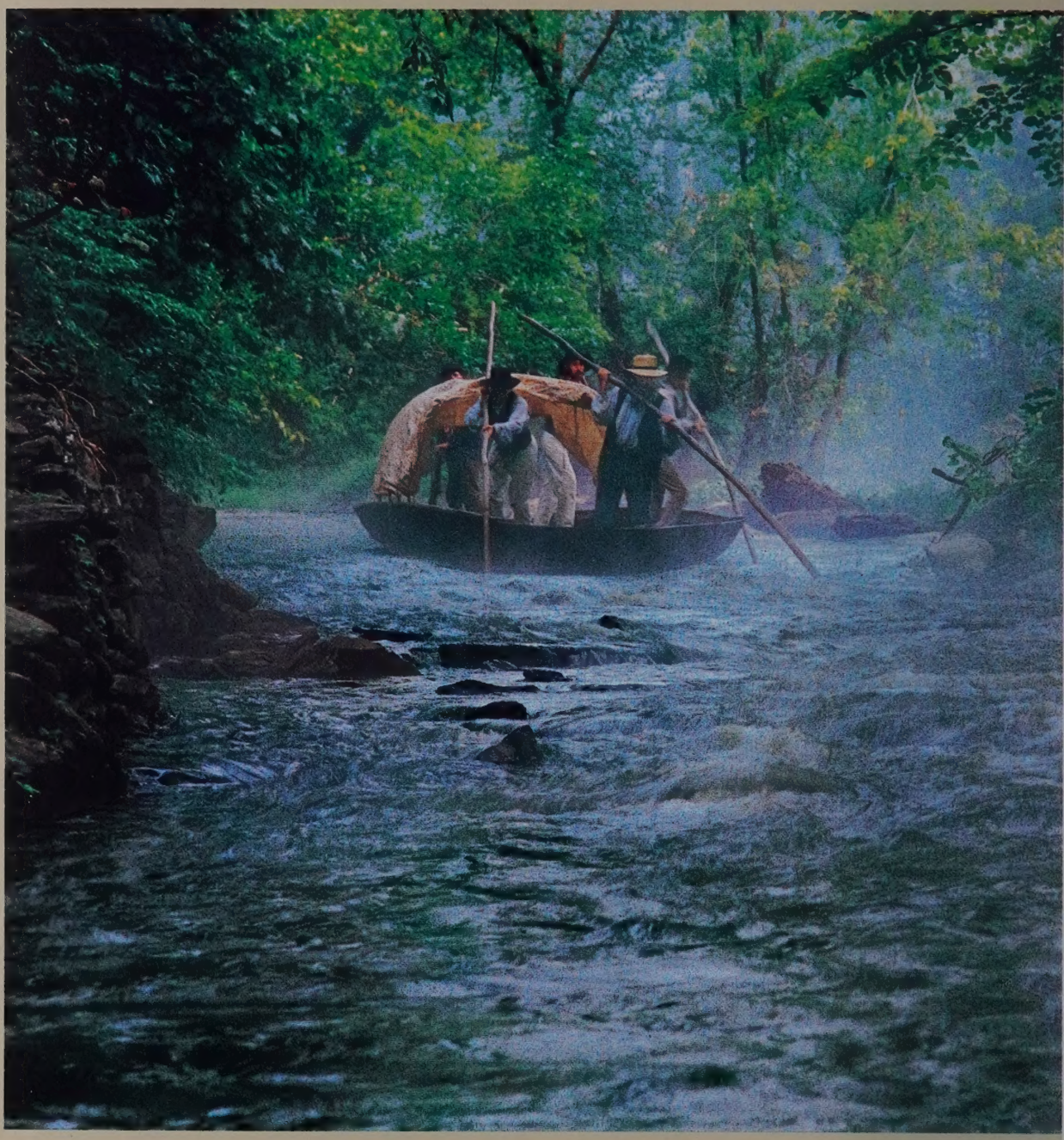
From the time a mesocyclone is detected on the Doppler radar screen, 20 minutes or more may pass before a strong tornado touches down. That should give local forecasters a crucial head start in warning communities to take shelter.

Armed with such advanced technology, local forecasters will be better prepared for all sorts of local weather problems, from flash floods to heavy snows. But the speed and accuracy of these computerized systems will help them most in their lifesaving fight to sound an accurate alarm—when skies turn black and clouds begin to swirl—that a killer tornado is on its way. □

Magnificent but deadly, a tornado in its final phase of life "ropes out" over Cordell, Oklahoma, as surface winds push the bottom ahead of the top. Survivors compare a tornado's low roar to that of a freight train, a jet engine, or a million bees: "The bigger the animal, the deeper the growl." DAVE RUST, NATIONAL SEVERE STORMS LABORATORY

Waterway That Led to the Constitution

George Washington's



Canal history buffs pole a reproduction of an 18th-century Patowmack Canal. The brainchild of George Washington, a cooperative effort that started the newly united states on a

By WILBUR E. GARRETT EDITOR Photographs by KENNETH GARRETT

Patowmack Canal

riverboat through Virginia's Seneca Bypass, a remnant of the the canal linking tidewater settlements with the frontier required path toward the framing of the Constitution.

THE KAYAKERS who are bobbing, darting, and dancing down the Potomac rapids paddle into an eddy and stare downstream. Out of the morning mists a ponderous, gondola-like boat slowly materializes. In eerie quiet it moves toward them up the narrow rapids against a fast current. The crew, wearing clothes of a time long gone and using poles, not paddles, maneuver the strange craft with an easy skill.

An apparition? Not quite. For the first time in more than a century a 50-foot-long riverboat—as out of place among the colorful little kayaks as a dulcimer at a rock concert—was passing up the Seneca Bypass of George Washington's Patowmack Canal. In an earlier time this channel had provided passage around the seven-foot drop of Seneca Falls for thousands of such boats. Five quite modern men in colonial costumes made up the crew of the 1,500-pound workboat. Dr. William Trout, scholarly president of the American Canal Society, manned the steering sweep. In the bow, fending off rocks, was headman Joe Ayers, the bearded and stocky president of the Virginia Canals and Navigations Society. Three polemen propelled the boat by jamming their poles against the canal bottom and walking the planks that ran on both sides from bow to stern.

Joe, who built the boat, had trailered it up from Columbia, Virginia, to run this historic waterway. He invited me to take passage. The night before, he had put us in the mood with foot-tapping Early American tunes on his five-string fretless banjo.

More than a boat was emerging from the mists. A little-known historical scenario was becoming clear. This canal had been part of a major project conceived by George Washington to make the Potomac River more navigable. The idea, spawned in his youth, grew into a lifelong obsession. Eventually a navigable Potomac, with improved channels and five bypass canals, would connect the Atlantic seaboard to upriver ports and—via a road portage—to the Ohio country and lands far to the west that few white men had yet seen.

In solving the political problems that blocked the waterway, Washington started a chain of events that led to the writing of the Constitution of the United States. And he went from president of his Patowmack Company to President of the United States and the permanent rank of Father of His Country.

When I tell this story, knowledgeable friends usually interrupt politely about this point. "Don't you mean the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal?" No. That was a war later and in Maryland.

Washington and Richard Henry ("Light-Horse" Harry) Lee had been authorized by the Virginia Legislature in 1772 to form a Potomac navigation company, but Baltimore merchants—knowing the project would help competing towns on the Potomac—opposed it. Maryland support was required: It owned the Potomac River. War came and the project died.

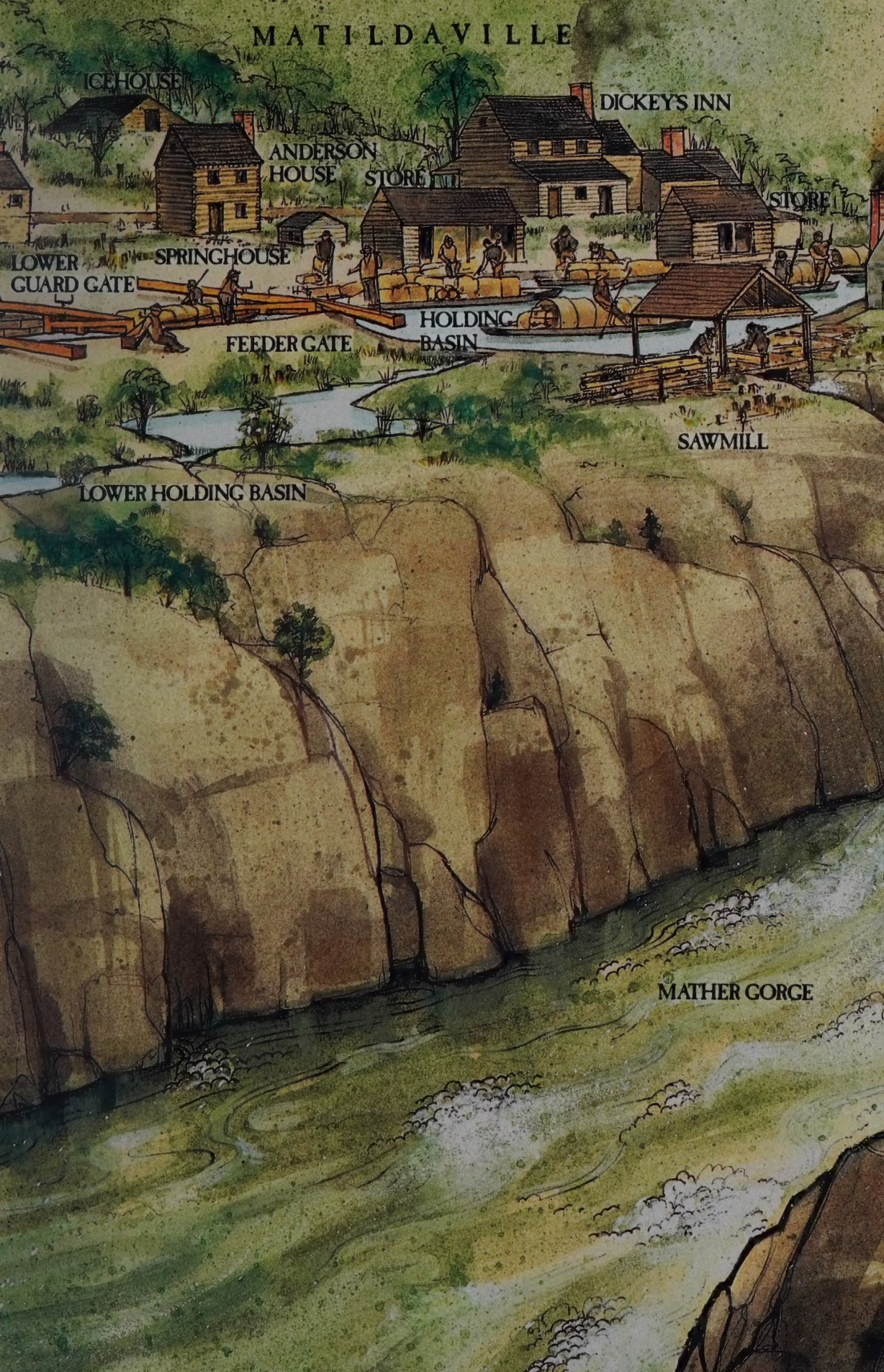
When the Revolution was over, the "times that try men's souls" weren't. In many ways the troubles were just beginning, and Washington wanted out. Like a lot of other GIs after a long war, facing an uncertain future, he was sure of only one thing—he would never go back in the Army or to any other government work. He wrote: "I am not only *(Continued on page 726)*

*Love of land and dreams of greatness for the Potomac River ran like threads through Washington's life. Born on its banks, he first tasted the colonial frontier near the Potomac's headwaters when, barely out of boyhood, he helped survey the northern boundaries of the enormous Virginia holdings of Thomas, Lord Fairfax. A 1924 painting by Frank Schoonover depicts a youthful Washington with his assistants and a surveyor's compass (**facing page**).*

Until the era of the American Revolution, the Appalachians served as an effective barrier to large-scale settlement of the Ohio country. Washington's early travels convinced him that the Potomac offered the best route west—if only the waterway could be made navigable. This conviction led him in later years to spearhead the founding of the Patowmack Company, whose seal is shown above.

Negotiations over navigation rights between Maryland and Virginia, neighbors on the waterway, set in motion a train of events that led in 1787 to the Constitutional Convention.

PAINTING BY NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC ARTIST WILLIAM H. BOND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ICEHOUSE
DICKEY'S INN
ANDERSON HOUSE
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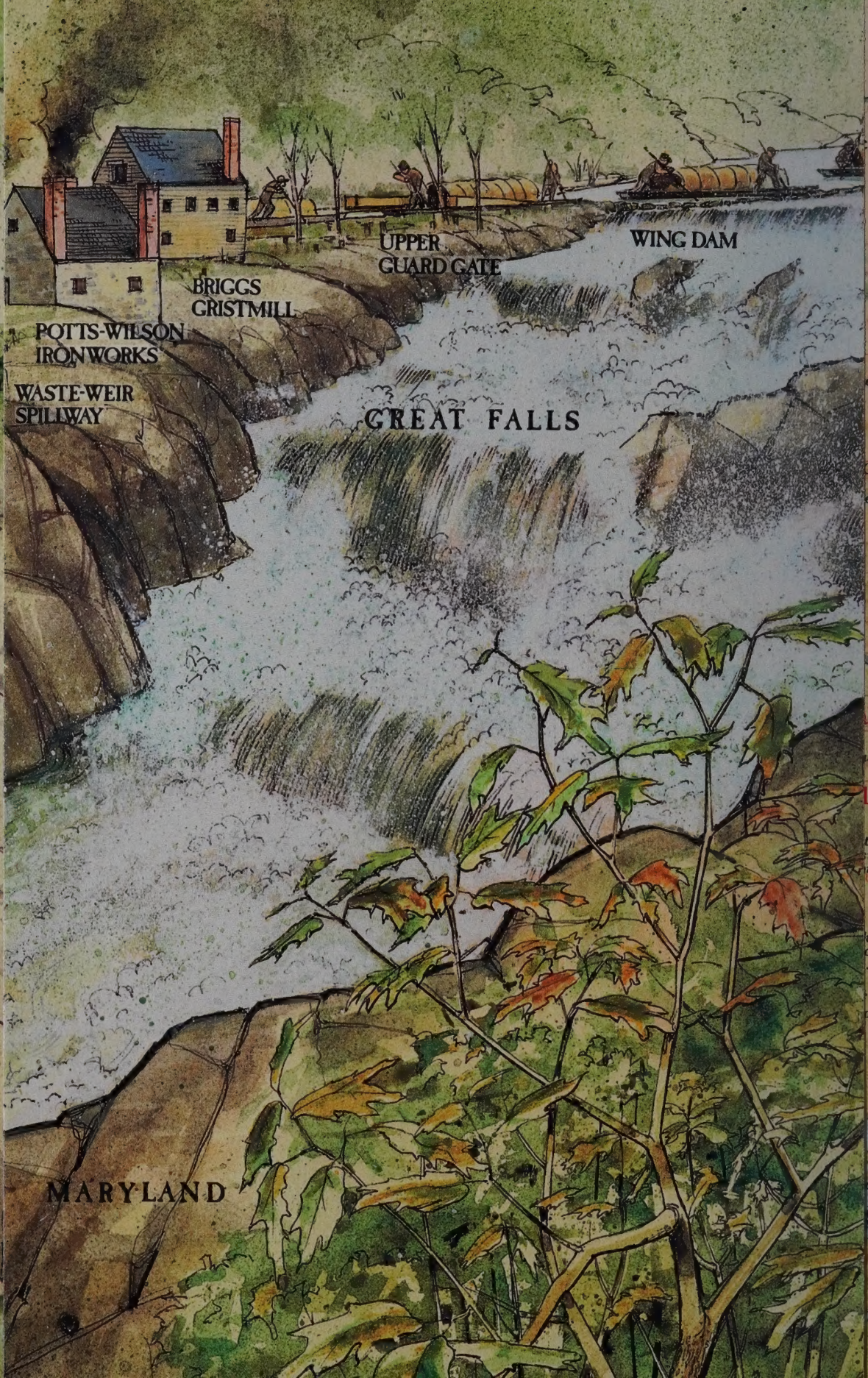
SAWMILL
LOWER HOLDING BASIN
MATHER GORGE


UPPER
GUARD GATE
WING DAM
BRIGGS
GRISTMILL
POTTS-WILSON
IRONWORKS
WASTE-WEIR
SPILLWAY
GREAT FALLS
MARYLAND

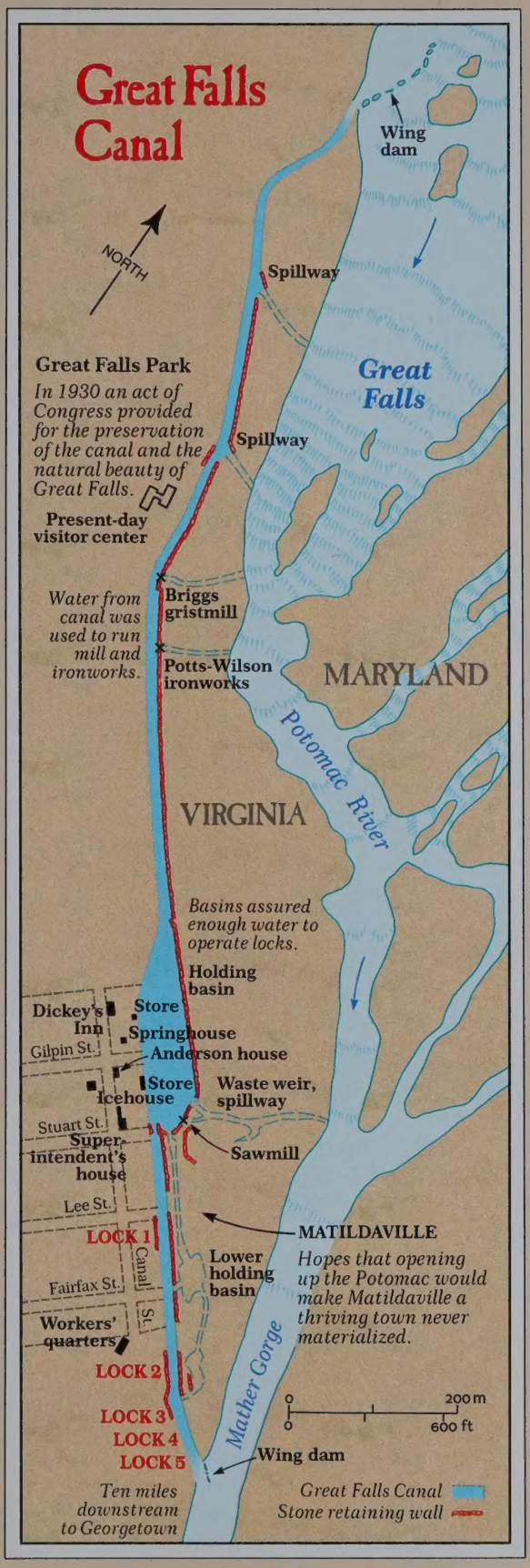
Patowmack: Route to the West

"A RISING EMPIRE" was Washington's vision of the lands and vital river highways beyond the mountains, and he invested both time and money in that empire's future. For his service in the French and Indian War (***map, left***) Washington was given extensive claims in the Ohio Valley and purchased others from fellow veterans.

Already a major landholder in the Potomac Valley, he traveled down the Ohio to the Great Kanawha River in 1770 to select and survey the new properties. After the Revolution he advertised for lease 30,000 acres that "by laying on the So. East side of the Ohio can give no jealousy to the Indians" and promised that "a great deal of it may be converted into the finest mowing ground imaginable, with little or no labour."

In 1784 he investigated means of linking the Potomac with tributaries of the Ohio. Greatly alarmed by separatist sentiments and foreign threats on the frontier, he pushed for the creation of the Patowmack Company, charged with making the river navigable from the seagoing port of Georgetown to Cumberland, near a pass through the Appalachians.

The company's strategy was to skirt five areas of falls. Traffic would follow the riverbed for most of the route. The greatest obstacle and engineering feat was faced at Great Falls. Side routes around other unnavigable points were completed long before the Great Falls locks opened in February 1802 (***right***), two years after Washington's death. Shown in full operation (***foldout, preceding pages***), five locks, three of which stairstep through a rock cut, raise and lower boats past the falls. Workmen heave at levers to open the gates. Stores, barracks, and other buildings near the holding basin constitute the settlement of Matildaville, envisioned as a manufacturing center and entrepôt for Potomac and Ohio Valley produce. Water powers a sawmill, foundry, and gristmill beside the river.



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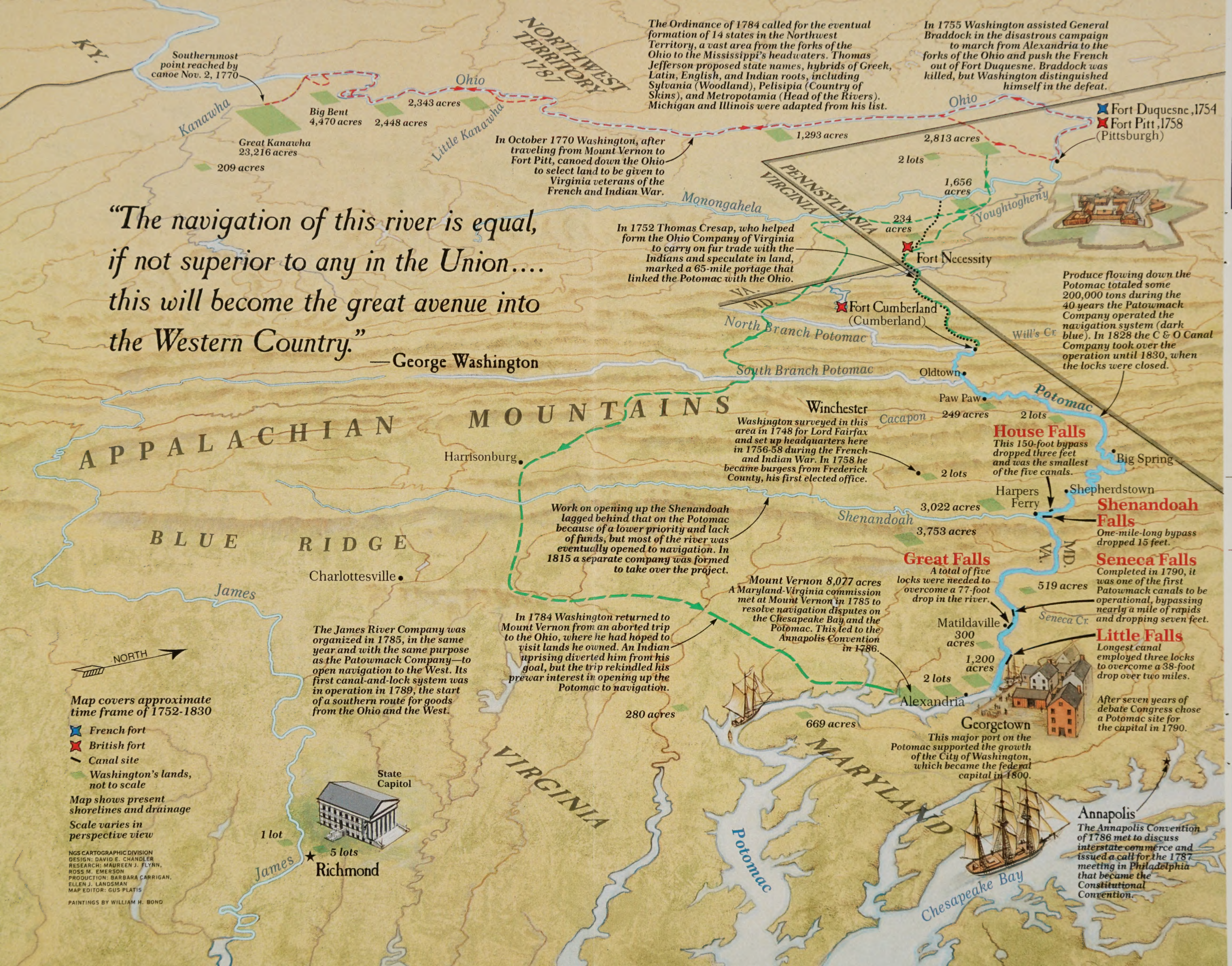


"The navigation of this river is equal, if not superior to any in the Union.... this will become the great avenue into the Western Country."
—George Washington


MATILDAVILLE
ICEHOUSE
ANDERSON HOUSE
DICKEY'S INN
STORE
STORE
LOWER GUARD GATE
SPRINGHOUSE
FEEDER GATE
HOLDING BASIN
LOWER HOLDING BASIN
SAWMILL
POTTS-WILSON IRONWORKS
BRIGGS GRISTMILL
WASTE-WEIR SPILLWAY
UPPER GUARD GATE
WING DAM
GREAT FALLS
MATHER GORGE
MARYLAND

retired from all public employments, but I am retiring within myself; and shall be able to view the solitary walk, and tread the paths of private life with heartfelt satisfaction. . . . I will move gently down the stream of life, until I sleep with my Fathers."

How wrong he was! He still had a country to father. Retirement to gentleman farmer was brief. The tall, vibrant, 52-year-old veteran, rested and raring to go, wrote to Thomas Jefferson in March 1784: "Respecting the practicability of an easy, and short communication between the Waters of the Ohio and Potomac. . . . I am satisfied that not a moment ought to be lost in recommencing this business."

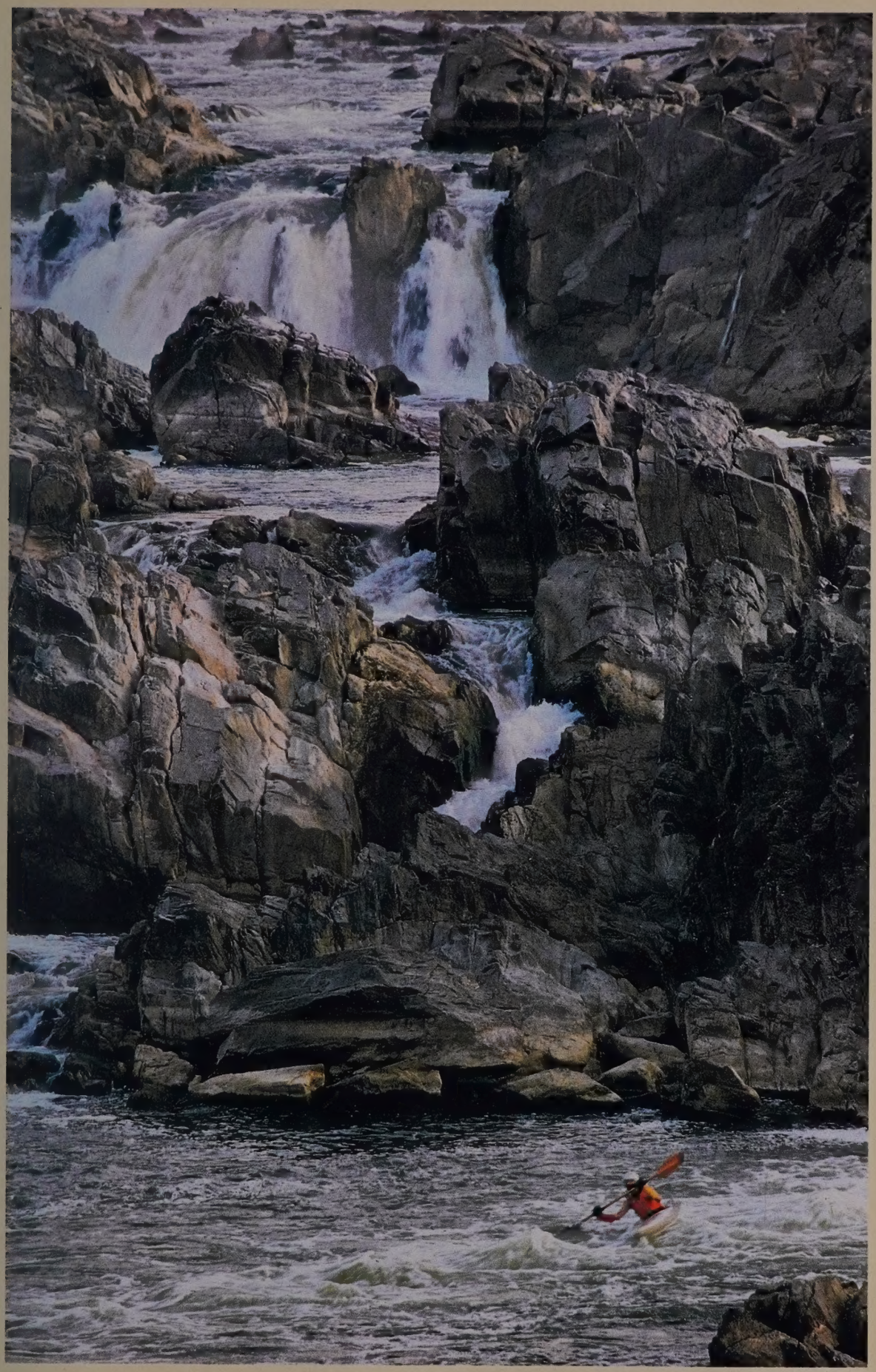
By 1785 Washington, now a national hero and a skilled politician, had lobbied the legislators of both Virginia and Maryland into formalizing his dream by chartering the Patowmack Company. "The choice of a President . . . ," he noted in his diary, "fell upon me." But before the canal could work, Virginia and Maryland had to resolve differences and distrust and agree to free trade on Potomac waters. At a congenial meeting of leaders from both states in March 1785 at Mount Vernon—probably graciously enhanced by Madeira from its well-stocked wine cellar—Washington started the ball rolling: perhaps a bigger roll than even he expected. The delegates recommended compromising on state waterway rights. Both legislatures ratified the resulting Mount Vernon Compact—an illegal act, since the Articles of Confederation forbade treaties between the states without approval of the Congress.

The legislators quickly called for another meeting in Annapolis in September 1786 to discuss other interstate problems, with all 13 states invited to send delegates. With commercial interests in several states eyeing the Ohio country, Washington

*Falls and floods wrote the history of the Patowmack Company. At normal flow the river cascades through Great Falls (**right**), ten miles above Washington, D. C., dropping 77 feet in three-quarters of a mile. A flood in November 1985 (**below**) gathered water from the Potomac's upper drainage into a torrent that hid the falls and filled part of the old canal bed, visible beside National Park Service buildings.*

WILBUR E. GARRETT (ABOVE)

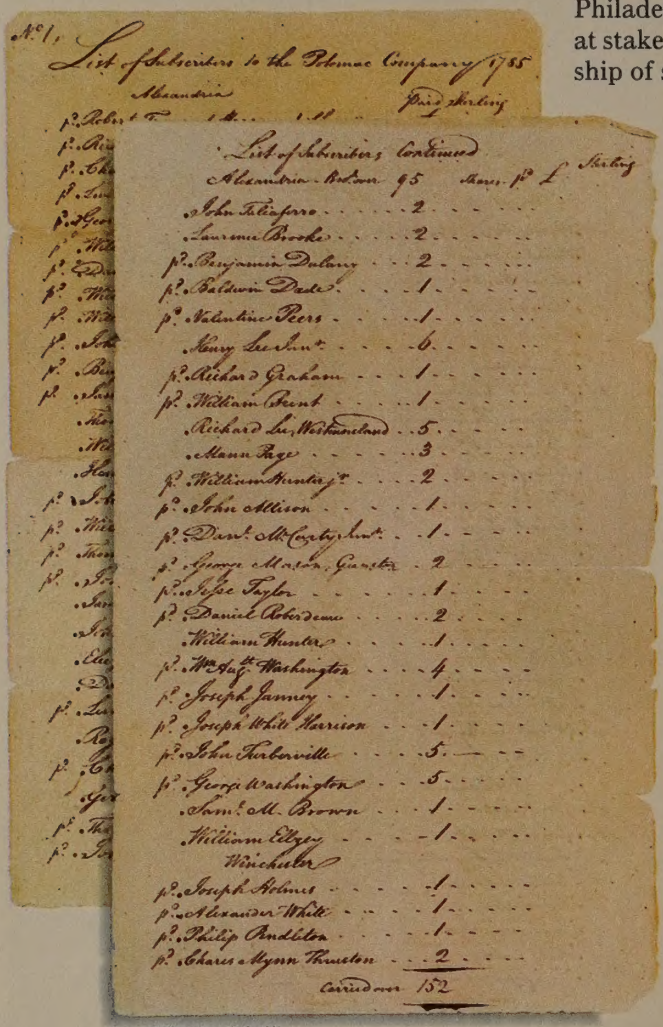
High water often hampered the Patowmack Company's construction work and inundated its operations. But low water proved the more intractable problem. A boat with one-foot draft would find enough water to float the length of the waterway on an average of only a few weeks a year. This unreliability sent trade via other routes, sealing the company's ultimate demise.



clearly needed more than just Maryland and Virginia support.

The Annapolis Convention was a failure, but delegates approved a resolution drafted by Alexander Hamilton calling for another meeting: "at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May next, to take into consideration the situation of the United States . . . to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

Though it was Washington's lobbying for his canal that led to Philadelphia, it was obvious there was much more at stake. The Confederation wasn't working. The ship of state was sinking. In Philadelphia, Washington was elected president of what became the Constitutional Convention. The delegates wrote a document that even former British Prime Minister Gladstone declared "is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."



E. G. ELVGREN COLLECTION

OUR STORY BEGINS on the Potomac River where Washington's dream was born. Ten miles above Washington, D. C., at the Great Falls of the Potomac, the river bashes itself down, over, and through a gantlet of cascades in a crashing tumble toward tidewater, creating one of the most scenically dramatic obstacles to navigation in the United States.

Alongside Great Falls in Virginia 185 years ago, a series of five locks on the Patowmack Canal began gently lowering boats around the falls, and they continued until 1830, when a successor across the river in Maryland—the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal—took over the job.

For a century and a half after the locks shut down, they were ignored and virtually forgotten. For the past quarter of a century they've been the derelict, deteriorating wards of the National Park Service. They go unnoticed by most visitors, who have to walk over the ruins to reach the falls. To add insult to George's dream, the film shown in the Great Falls Park visitors center is titled "The Magnificent Failure" and refers to the canal as "Washington's folly."

Washington certainly would have disagreed. His company built five bypass canals to skirt rapids and waterfalls and improved miles of riverbed that did indeed make the Potomac navigable. The waterway operated in various stages of completion and competence from 1788 until 1830 and brought more than ten million dollars' worth of produce (perhaps 15 times that at today's prices) from the upper Potomac and the Ohio country to Georgetown. At least one shipment of furs from Fort Osage

on the Missouri River used his waterway around 1810 as the last leg of a 2,000-mile trip—all of it except 130 miles by water.

Washington's scheme was to draw the people and lands west of the original 13 Colonies into the United States. He feared that the rapidly growing population beyond the foothills of the Appalachians would take their business and loyalties to the Spanish via the Mississippi or north to the British through the Great Lakes.

He warned all who would listen: "The Western Inhabitants . . . composed in a great degree of Foreigners . . . can have no predilection for us; and a Commercial connexion is the only tie we can have upon them." "We shall . . . bind those people to us by a chain which never can be broken." "The flanks and rear of the United States are possessed by other powers, and formidable ones too. . . . The Western settlers . . . stand as it were upon a pivot; the touch of a feather, would turn them any way."

Dick Stanton, canal historian and superintendent of the C & O Canal National Historical Park, feels Washington's project succeeded and invited me upriver to see why. A one-man public relations team for the Potomac and its old canals, Dick may know as much about them as any man alive.

"I've been on this river most of my life. As a boy in Washington I begged rides in any canoe I could get into. I've logged 8,000 miles on the river since. I'm rabid at the charge that the Patowmack and C & O Canals were follies or failures. The Patowmack Canal probably did save the Ohio country. Sure, neither one made money for stockholders, but for more than a hundred years people up here made a living off these canals."

It's easy to say now that Washington's waterway should have included more flat water channels, but locks were expensive. In the new nation optimism was sometimes all the leaders had to work with, and bad river travel was better than forest trails.

From the first Europeans to see the Potomac through Washington himself, the river was looked upon as an avenue to someplace else. Capt. John Smith, in his search for the elusive Northwest Passage, was stopped by Little Falls just above the present site of Washington.

But the river was navigable for the Indians, who apparently came from great distances on it and other rivers to trade—starting almost 10,000 years ago. The Indians Smith met in 1608 had steel knives and hatchets traded from the French in Canada.

A European traveler in 1712 watched Indians make a boat "in less than half a day . . . of the bark of trees" and marveled at

Prominent and wealthy shareholders of the Patowmack Company, founded in 1785, gathered at Wise's Tavern in Alexandria on August 7, 1786, to review the corporation's progress under its president, George Washington. In the same building, now called Gadsby's Tavern, a re-creation ***(below)*** *places Washington at left with other Maryland and Virginia gentlemen.*

A roster of original shareholders ***(facing page)*** *records Washington's purchase of five shares, at 100 pounds sterling apiece. Virginia gave him 50 additional shares, which he placed in public trust for the advancement of education. But all shares ultimately proved valueless as the company failed to turn profits, despite hopes reported from the 1786 meeting that "the great national Work . . . is prosecuted with an Industry and Ardor, truly characteristic of the illustrious President."*

The clink of metal was the only sure sound of money after the Revolution. The Patowmack Company initially required that tolls be paid in foreign coins, the major hard currency in circulation. Coins of the canal era, arrayed below, are (clockwise from top left): French six-livre and five-centime pieces; Spanish-American two-real and one-escudo pieces; Welsh privately minted copper halfpenny; Virginia halfpenny; English shilling and guinea; and Portuguese 400-rei piece.

their use of it: "The turns they had to make, and what inexpressible skill was needed to steer this canoe or boat, we almost thought there was some magic in the act, especially when we heard the Indians singing as they passed at great speed, almost striking against a great stone or rock."

WASHINGTON studied various routes to the West and selected the Potomac River through Fort Cumberland, up Will's Creek, and across a 65-mile land route to Ohio River waters (map, pages 723-4). He knew the Cumberland area well enough to have been invited in 1755 to assist Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock in a planned attack on Fort Duquesne—now Pittsburgh.

In an ambush en route to the fort, George had two horses shot from under him and took four bullets through his coat, but he escaped injury. Many historians attribute the disastrous loss to the stupidity of General Braddock. As one of the dead, he couldn't defend himself, but Virginians' zeal for a westward route through their own lands may well have been more to blame. There was already a Pennsylvania road to Fort Duquesne. The wilderness trek—where guerrilla-like Indian tactics were so effective—was probably unnecessary.

Washington's men buried Braddock in the road and drove wagons over the grave so Indians wouldn't find it. In 1824 a road-repair crew came across remains with insignia indicating they might have been the general's.

ARTIFACTS COURTESY NATIONAL NUMISMATIC COLLECTION, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Paper dollars were issued by state-chartered banks and varied in value according to a bank's soundness and proximity. The loose alliance under the Articles of Confederation, predecessor to the Constitution, failed to establish a national currency or to regulate interstate commerce.

Continental dollars printed in Philadelphia from 1775 to 1779 were officially valued at 1/100 face value when redeemed in 1790—giving rise to the phrase "not worth a continental."

The first Europeans to reach the Cumberland site, about 1728, had found a stockaded Shawnee Indian village in place. Over the years it evolved into a storehouse town for the Ohio Company, a fort, a canal town, a railhead, a coal depot, and the start of Thomas Jefferson's National Road. At times it was the most important town on the frontier. Then the frontier moved on, canals died, and, eventually, railroads faded in importance.

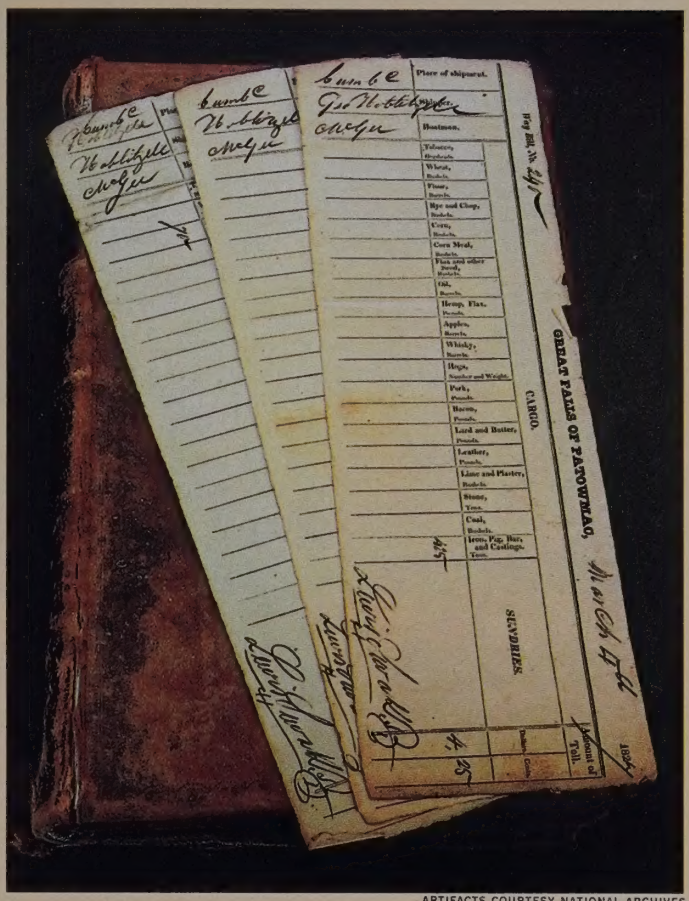
The four-man boat crews that left Cumberland for the three- to five-day dash to Georgetown supplied themselves with 30 pounds of bacon, some bread, tea, and sugar, four tin cups, 20 feet of rope, and two gallons of whiskey. The first boats to reach Georgetown could demand top prices for their cargoes. Those rivermen were working hard to stay alive. If they were lucky, they might make a few extra shillings, buy some land, and conquer a piece of western wilderness for themselves—if the Indians didn't get them first.

At first the Patowmack Company accepted only gold and

silver coins for tolls. Since there were few U. S. coins, Spanish, French, British, Portuguese, and even Arab specie was accepted. With not enough trusted money in circulation, barter was common and whiskey a favorite trade item. Wheat, corn, and rye, being bulky, were usually converted to flour and whiskey for shipping. Boats also carried pig iron, pork, beef, tobacco, ginseng, linseed oil, and even cast-iron stoves and walnut gunstocks.

Practicality and Patowmack Company rules narrowed the choices to two basic boat designs. The sharpers—such as Joe Ayers's replica—were better built, with both ends tapered. They were as much as 70 feet long and seven wide. The others, about the same size but little more than rafts, were usually sold at the end of the trip for lumber or firewood. A tarpaulin was sometimes stretched over bent poles—like a Conestoga wagon—to keep the cargo dry.

The sharpers, lightly loaded for the return trip, carried a variety of manufactured goods to the frontier. Polemen walked the planks as if on a treadmill. In some rapids, ropes or chains were fixed to the walls to help them. One boatman complained that getting a boat back to Cumberland was "the hardest work ever done by man." Nevertheless, they often raced back to Cumberland. Townspeople cheered the winner.



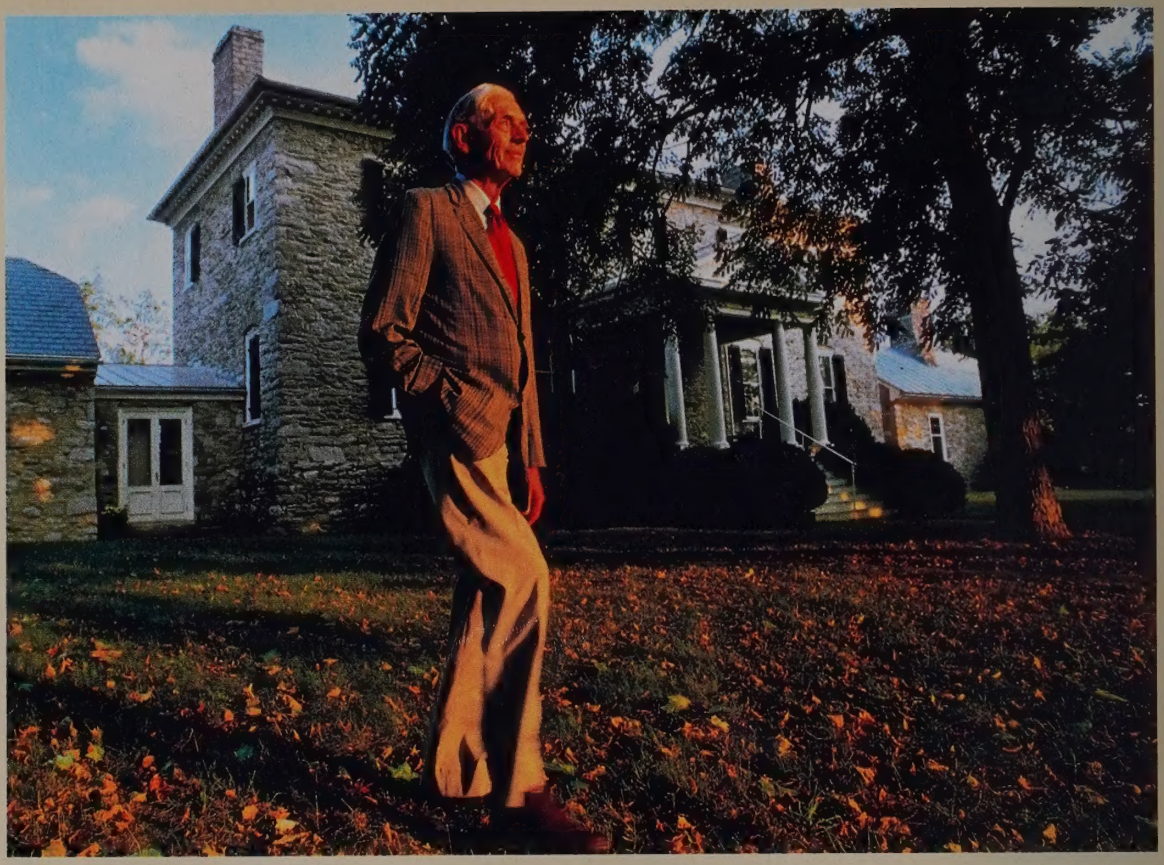
ARTIFACTS COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Frontier wealth was measured in barrels, hogsheads, and tons and duly recorded for toll as it passed the locks at Matildaville. Flour, the greatest bulk item, was followed in value by whiskey and pig iron. Three toll cards from the same day in 1827 list cargoes from Cumberland. After the downriver trip—three to five days from Cumberland to Georgetown—many boats were broken up for lumber rather than used for an arduous ten- to twelve-day return upstream.

TO SEE THE WATERWAY from a boatman's level, I canoed the river from Cumberland, Maryland, to Washington, D. C. Since I lacked the Indian's magic with a canoe, son Kenneth—veteran of several thousand miles of river running—joined me as photographer and number one paddle.

Downriver from Cumberland at Oldtown, Maryland, the site of a privately owned toll bridge, we visited the Michael Cresap house. Maybe the toughest man ever to part these waters was his father, Thomas Cresap, a Yorkshireman who spent some 70 years on the leading edge of the frontier. After a clash with Pennsylvania authorities over a land title in 1736, he was captured and cuffed in irons because he was so dangerous. As soon as the smithy finished applying them, Cresap raised his shackled hands and decked him for his trouble. When Cresap was released nearly two years later, he moved to Maryland and never forgave the Pennsylvanians. Maybe they weren't all wrong. A Braddock aide referred to him as a "Rattle Snake Colonel, and a D——d Rascal, calls himself a Frontiersman."

Washington had found his deceased father's surveying



"George was a farmer," says Dr. John Augustine Washington at his West Virginia estate, Harewood, originally the home of George's brother Samuel. "He realized that the fertility of lands here was something they didn't have in Tidewater," where tobacco had leeched the fields.

Completed in 1770, Harewood came to the now retired Washington, D. C., pediatrician by descent via six generations. When George first surveyed the Virginia uplands, he and half brother Lawrence bought tracts here. On Lawrence's death three of Washington's brothers each inherited part of his holdings. Always drawn to the area, George might have joined them had he not inherited Mount Vernon.

instruments when he was 14 and quickly learned to use them. This led to an invitation to join George William Fairfax in 1748 on a trip to survey part of the five-million-acre holdings of Thomas, Lord Fairfax. Torrential rains forced the party to stay at Cresap's fortified house for four days.

It was there that George probably had his first contact with Indians—at least an Indian war party. Thirty young warriors stopped to see their friend Cresap on the way home after a disappointing trip—they had only one scalp to show for their fighting. Nevertheless, the Indians agreed to dance for the surveying party. They stretched a deerskin over a pot to make a drum, built a large fire, and soon were performing.

The tenderfoot learned both the rigors and the joys of sleeping on the ground, especially when straw beds proved to be full of lice. The young aristocrat noted in his journal that another host provided "neither a Cloth upon the Table nor a knife to eat with." The river as a highway looked good to young Washington, who found that the road to Cresap's place was "the worst Road that ever was trod by Man or Beast."

It was then, too, that George sensed not only the value of the Potomac as a waterway but also the potential land values in the West. He saved enough money to buy his first piece of Shenandoah land when he was only 18. From then on the navigation project and Washington's craving for land were two sides of the same coin. He admitted in one letter that his plan to develop the Potomac could seem to be self-interest. Though no one ever questioned his honesty or loyalty to state and

country, today he would probably be accused of insider trading.

In 1767 he wrote to William Crawford, his old friend and partner in land speculation: "By this time it may be easy for you to discover, that my Plan is to secure a good deal of Land. . . . I would recommend it to you to keep this whole matter a profound Secret." Of circumventing a restriction on buying western lands, he wrote to Crawford, "I can never look upon that Proclamation in any other light (but this I say between ourselves) than as a temporary expedient to quiet the Minds of the Indians and [it] must fall of course in a few years especially when those Indians are consenting to our Occupying the Lands."

In 1784 he advertised 30,000 acres for lease: "The So. East side of the Ohio can give no jealousy to the Indians, the proprietors of it . . . may cultivate their Farms in peace, and fish, fowl and hunt without fear or molestation." Maybe. There was no Federal Trade Commission to regulate land promotions, but the Indians could be even tougher regulators. His partner didn't live to see these lands rented or sold. Crawford was tortured and burned at the stake by Indians near Upper Sandusky, Ohio. On hearing the news Washington was "excited to tears."

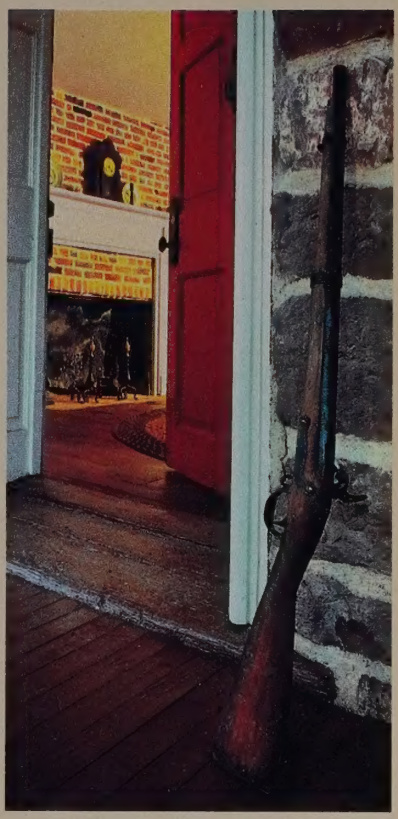
BELOW OLDTOWN we swam where the Potomac's South Branch joins the North. At the campfire that night my Geographic associate Ralph Gray reminded us that there was a time when we wouldn't have dared.* "Forty years ago parts of this river smelled so bad you didn't even want to canoe it." In 1965 President Johnson called the Potomac "disgraceful."

The only pollution we suffered from that night was noise. We had camped too close to the railroad tracks. There's almost no place along the upper river where you can't hear the lonesome wail of trains in the night, but it seemed every train on the East Coast wailed, rattled, and roared through our tents. When I beefed about the noise, Ralph said: "That's the sweet sound of money up here. The railroads move more goods through here in one night than moved on George's canal in a year."

Washington lived along the river, traveled its waters, and even fished it commercially. He wrote of its potential often. I hope he also felt its lulling charm when you ship your paddles on a summer afternoon and drift with a lazy current. The world slows until the panorama of fields and forests seems to float by while you and time stand still. Stately herons feed and fly in slow motion. The river seduces with a deceptive gentleness as it licks at the banks and gurgles past rocks and logs.

It was this Potomac Washington wanted to develop. But then there's that other river, the rabid animal, flushed with red earth and swollen with snowmelt or frog-strangling rains. It leaps its banks, brutally sweeping all before it, leaving gouged fields and splintered forests. Such floods—which can push a million gallons a second over Great Falls—followed by frustrating drought, plagued construction and use of his river-canal. Extremes of high and low water made it dangerous or impassable all but 30 to 45 days a year. Even then it took skill and courage to

*See "Down the Potomac by Canoe" in the August 1948 issue.



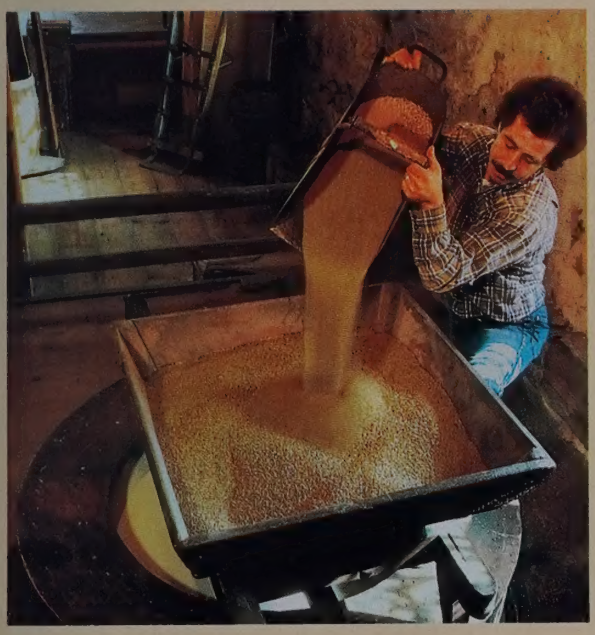
Muster was held at Michael Cresap's house in Oldtown, Maryland, to meet George Washington's call to arms at the outset of revolution. From here a troop under Captain Cresap marched off to Boston. A later era musket, made at the Harpers Ferry armory, stands by the door.

Cresap's father, Thomas, built the outermost house in Oldtown around 1740, after an earlier home was attacked by Pennsylvanians, Cresap's longtime enemies. The cantankerous frontiersman lobbied for Potomac-Ohio development and helped bring about formation of the Ohio Company, a pre-Revolutionary trading concern dedicated to opening the Potomac route west.

Water was power on the threshold of the industrial revolution. The Charles Mill, as it is called today, was situated on a stream suitable for a millrace on the Potomac's Maryland side. Mills have been on the site since at least 1750.

*Stone walls and a waterwheel stand where a photograph from early in this century shows the millhouse (**above,** right foreground), put out of business by a flood in 1924. Defunct mill machinery includes a wooden bearing (**right**) that was adjusted as it wore by tamping*

CHARLES MILL PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY BERNHARD CHARLES COLLECTION



the spike to tighten the block in its center.

The mill's flour was probably shipped via the Patowmack Canal. A later enterprise, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, is visible at far right in the old photograph. The C & O acquired the Patowmack Company's rights and property in 1828 and functioned for nearly a century.

Flour is still ground at the renovated Burwell-Morgan Mill ***(left)*** *on a tributary of the Shenandoah, a route to the Potomac for 18th-century produce.*

ride a 20-ton load through the rapids at the water level required to make the 220-mile run.

We found Paw Paw, West Virginia, still hurting from the record-breaking November 1985 flood. Water had swept through at second-floor level, 29 feet above flood stage. At bends in the river uprooted trees still lay in disarray like weeds snatched from a garden. We canoed under one railroad bridge from which a huge tree hung, its branches jammed among the steel girders. With its roots now dangling in the river, it was trying to survive hydroponically—sucking nourishment from the Potomac.

Around the bend from Beanpatch Hollow—or "Holler"—we pass Doe Gully below Purslane Mountain. Washington once owned 249 acres here. It's a rugged and remote area little disturbed by roads. Unless we come too close, deer and birds ignore us. A mallard mother near the bank scurries and flaps around to divert our attention from her four ducklings, who—not seeming to understand the ploy—paddle frantically after her. Hunters on shore break the spell—blasting ducks out of season and out of sight of game wardens.

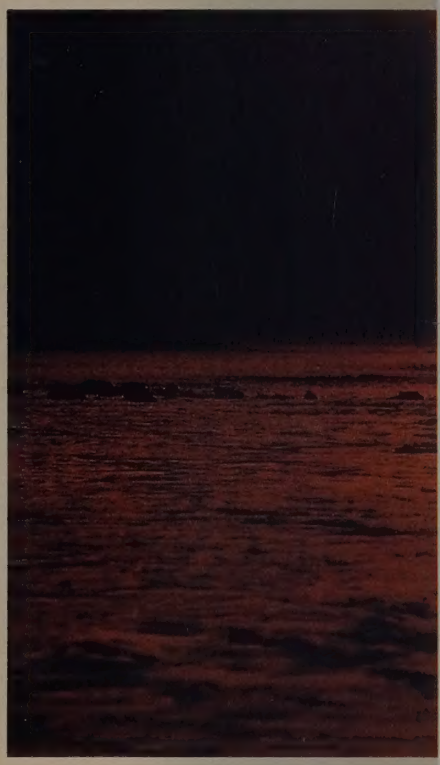
We go to sleep that night at the mouth of the Cacapon River to the chirping of tree frogs and the harrumphs of bullfrogs. We awake to an unexpected mid-June frost. A band of fog blankets the river. We warm up soon enough, paddling against a headwind that shoves us back upstream whenever we pause. No matter which direction the river snakes, the wind comes head on. Dick Stanton said that when he is tired he canoes the river: "It's a source of power." I can assure him it's also a consumer.

After hundreds of miles of lip-chapping, arm-wearying wind and only 32 miles of river we reach Big Spring, Maryland—site of the Charles Mill, reputed to have been milling flour long before Washington built his canal. Owner Bernhard Charles is installing pieces of a broken grinding stone into a patio. "This buhrstone came from France. My father was the last man in this area who could sharpen one." This one—broken many years ago—was the same kind Washington used to mill his own brand of flour at Mount Vernon. The 1924 flood that ended C & O Canal operations also washed out the Charles Mill.

Charles showed us around the three-story ruins. The once grand waterwheel—now slumped and rusting—transferred power for grinding through a huge steel cogwheel with maple teeth. Charles could remember the living mill: "When the wheel was working, you could hear the teeth meshing all over the valley. As a kid I used to grab hold and ride the vertical shaft round and round. We didn't grind just flour. Ships from Europe carried chalk as ballast. It was brought up here and ground into plaster."

He fished a wooden gadget out of the weeds. It was a near-perfect shaft bearing with grease still in the three-inch hole (page 734). One half slid neatly in grooves so that by tapping a wedge the miller could take up slack from wear. I grimaced when he tossed the beautifully made artifact back in the weeds.

An ancient pastime lures Ben Schley and his fly rod to the remains of a fish weir in the Potomac below his home in Shepherdstown, West Virginia. The funnel-shaped rock walls, plugged with a net or basket, were constructed over centuries by Indians and settlers. The river's numerous weirs posed a major hazard to Potomac shipping. Perhaps as long



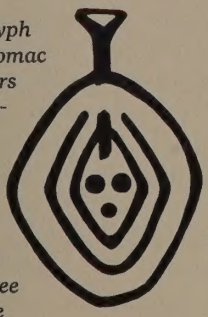
as 1,300 years ago Indians carved a petroglyph ***(bottom)*** *that may have marked a prime prehistoric fishing spot.*

Once badly polluted, the Potomac benefited from a major cleanup after President Lyndon B. Johnson called it to national attention in 1965. "The smallmouth bass fishing is just as good now as it was 50 years ago," Ben Schley reports.

"Don't know what to do with it," he said. "Hate to burn it."

Like Washington, Charles is a licensed surveyor. Near the spring, beside a patch of wild strawberries, he cleared away weeds to reveal an "A" carved in a rock. "Nobody knows what it means, but we think it was the surveyor's mark from the original survey of 1745. My father showed it to me, as his father did to him, and as I did to my kids. But they don't care."

Every spot along this river has its own page in our history. Shepherdstown, West Virginia, has several. It was considered for the site of the nation's capital by George Washington himself. To any resident of Shepherdstown, "Who invented the steamboat?" is more than a question in a trivia game. They



THE FISH petroglyph found on the Potomac is similar to others along the Susquehanna River. Carved into the stone, two concentric lines surround a diamond-shaped stylized fish. Three concavities in the center represent its eyes and a mouth.

DRAWING BY GEORGE E. STUART

damn well know and are quick to tell you that it wasn't Robert Fulton—his came 20 years later—and it sure wasn't that "impostor" John Fitch of Philadelphia, who claimed *he* was first.

Two hundred years ago on December 3, 1787, James Rumsey took several ladies and a little girl named Ann on the first (according to Rumsey fans) steamboat ride in history. It was a beautiful day, and at an early hour hundreds of people began arriving to see a boat that would move without oars, sails, paddles, or poles. It was said that "the crazy man was going to run his canoe with a steam kettle."

Witnesses testified that when the boat shoved off "she paused for a moment and then, by a sudden impulse steamed off up the stream, against the current of the river amid the shouts of the excited multitude upon the shore. General [Horatio] Gates removed his hat and exclaimed, 'My God, she moves.' " And she did—for two hours—up and down the river. Jay Hurley of

The coming age of steam, which would unlock upriver travel throughout the nation, had a preview in 1787 when two American inventors, James Rumsey and John Fitch, demonstrated steamboats they had invented. The two wrangled over the precedence of their inventions in one of the nation's first patent disputes; both eventually received patents.

In Shepherdstown, where Rumsey demonstrated his boat on the Potomac, Jay Hurley ***(above)*** *and fellow members of the Rumseian Society are building a half-size working model of the 48-foot craft, drawing on patent-case depositions, a treatise by Rumsey, and a drawing submitted for a Pennsylvania patent. Rumsey's revolutionary water-tube boiler, the iron box beside Hurley, required far less space and weight than conventional steam engines. It powered a piston that drove water through the box keel in a prototype of jet propulsion.*

Shepherdstown told me that was because Rumsey hadn't included a stop valve. She ran until the steam died down.

Hurley, who played Rumsey in the town's celebration last year, does more than dress and act the part. Like Rumsey, a jack-of-all-trades, he's building a half-scale model of Rumsey's steamboat, with one improvement: a stop valve. "People still refer to him as Crazy Rumsey," Hurley told me, "but anyone who had the ear of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Ben Franklin couldn't be a buffoon. I play him as a gentleman."

In 1785 Washington had hired Rumsey to build his canal, but he quit in less than a year to get back to his boat. Washington, also impatient for the invention that would help his navigation project, urged Rumsey to hurry. After his success at Shepherdstown, while in London to raise money, Rumsey had a stroke and died. His boat never succeeded commercially, but his impact on the industrial revolution is incalculable. His water-tube boiler design eventually became the world standard for all steam engines—from power plants to ocean liners. Today a 75-foot granite column on the riverbank at Shepherdstown memorializes the inventor of the steamboat—the not-so-crazy Rumsey.

Soon after Rumsey was hired by the Patowmack Company, he joined Washington and numerous directors and shareholders to inspect the river. All agreed locks were not needed at Shenandoah Falls at Harpers Ferry. Instead they'd dig a mile-long sluice to smooth the 15-foot drop. Across the river at House Falls another bypass would help navigate a three-foot fall.

Washington cautioned Rumsey that if he had to hire more than a hundred hands, he should "give information to the President least any disappointment should happen in the ready payment of the company's debts, which by all means is to be avoided." Optimism ran high, but from the beginning money

was a problem. Many stockholders never paid what was due. Like most such projects, costs exceeded funds, and there was no federal money to bail them out.

KENNY AND I AGREE: Locks are still not needed at Shenandoah Falls, but we study the run carefully. Between Washington and Cumberland seven dams were eventually built to feed river water into C & O Canal locks. All but numbers four and five have been removed by man or floods, but here at the ruins of number three, steel spikes stand waiting in rapids like dull can openers for unsuspecting canoeists.

We emerge from the rapids at the point where the Shenandoah merges with the Potomac; our canoe is scarred but unopened. The Patowmack Company undertook navigational improvements on the Shenandoah as well as the Potomac but—over its head and budget—surrendered the job to another company.

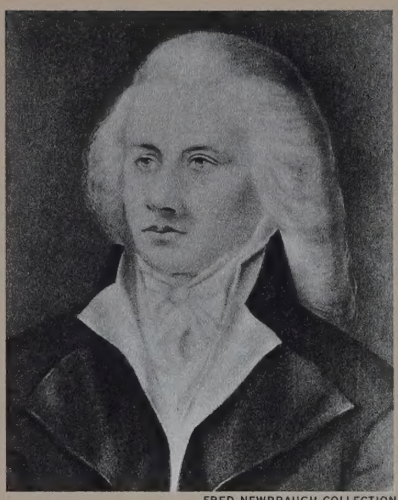
Washington built the national armory at Harpers Ferry because of its access to water power. Thomas Jefferson, more romantic, was smitten by the view: "On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain an hundred miles to seek a vent. On your left approaches the Patowmac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction, they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. . . . This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic."

All this sundering was long over when we arrived at Harpers Ferry, which embraces its view and its history with a warm, economic affection. Washington's inspection party boated on to Great Falls, probably in a canoe hollowed out of a poplar tree.

Washington left the party at Seneca Falls. At Seneca Creek on the Maryland side, the red sandstone used in much of the canal construction was quarried. The Smithsonian Castle, the Renwick Gallery, and parts of Georgetown University were built with the same stone. Many of the mason's marks incised in the canal locks are also found in the Capitol and the White House. Capt. George Pointer, in charge of carrying stone to Great Falls, became impatient because of a jam of boats in the Seneca Bypass "with marble for the capitol. . . . I had to run outside . . . my boat Struck, I was precipitated out of her, and a broken Leg was the issue of it. . . ." His report indicates the canal was well used and was needed.

Today, though little known and seldom seen, the Seneca Bypass is the only section of the canal where water still flows as it did when the canal was operating—and sometimes that flow is as violent as in the falls it was built to avoid. The best surviving canal section runs for 150 feet and is 20 feet wide and seven feet deep. Even though I live just above these ruins—kayaking the cut when the waters are running and skating on the pool below it when winter freezes it—until recently I was not fully aware of the canal's starring role in American history.

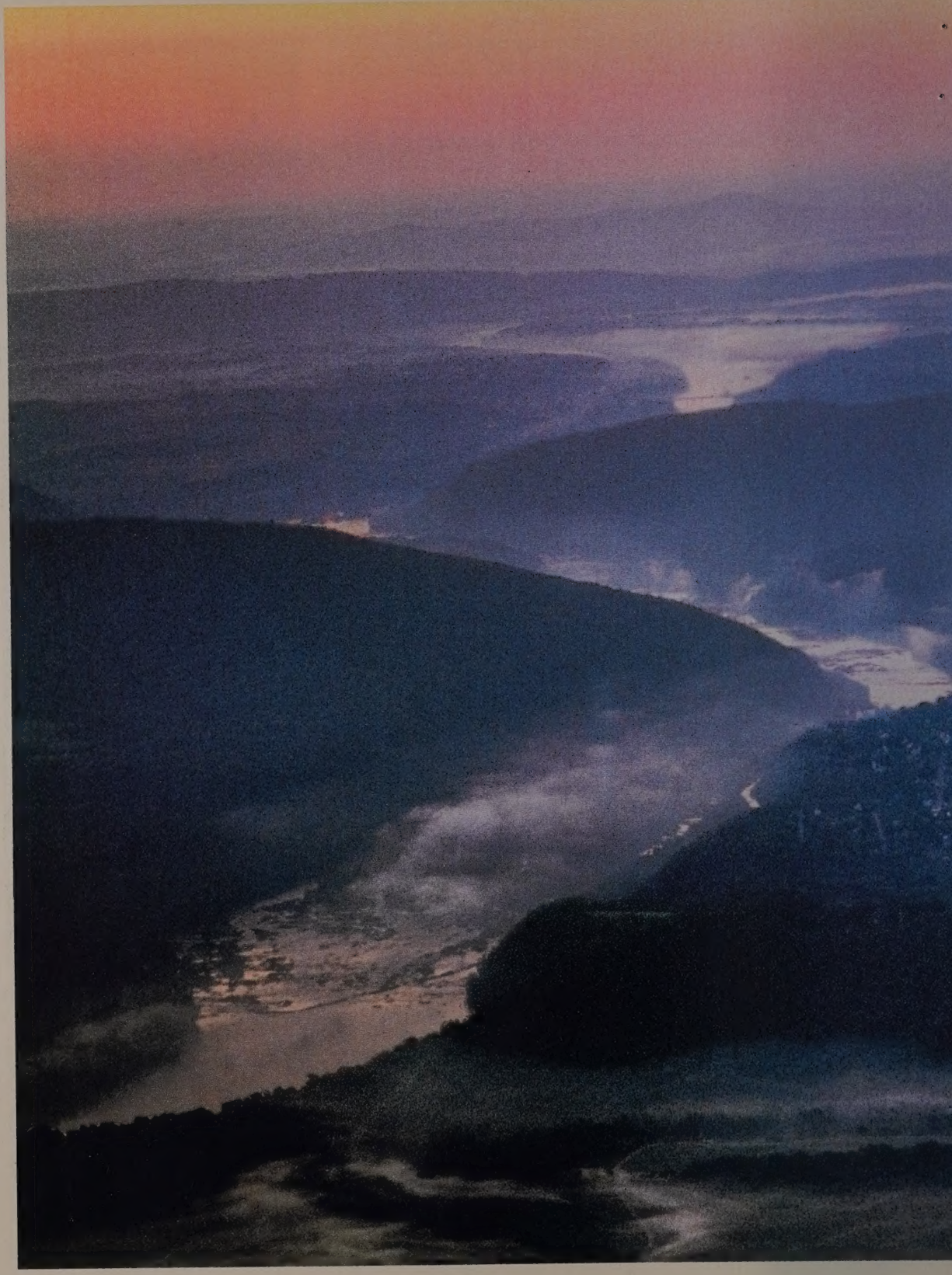
Usually seen only by canoeists and kayakers, it lies hidden in a roadless forest only a few miles from the nation's capital. The area provides habitat for dozens of varieties of birds from the



FRED NEWBRAUGH COLLECTION

"The ingenious Mr. Rumsey" was George Washington's description of the Virginia inventor who, in 1784, demonstrated for him a model of a boat that moved upstream by mechanically driven poles. Washington grasped its usefulness at once: "Rumsey's discovery [is] one of those circumstances which have combined to render the present epocha favorable above all others for securing . . . a large portion of the produce of the Western Settlements."

Rumsey abandoned his pole boat to concentrate on creating a steam-driven boat. Impressed by Rumsey's engineering, Washington engaged him as the Patowmack Company's first superintendent. The job went poorly, and Rumsey left to pursue his steamboat. After his demonstration on the Potomac he continued his work in England. There he died unexpectedly while completing a new craft, which admirers successfully demonstrated on the Thames in 1793.

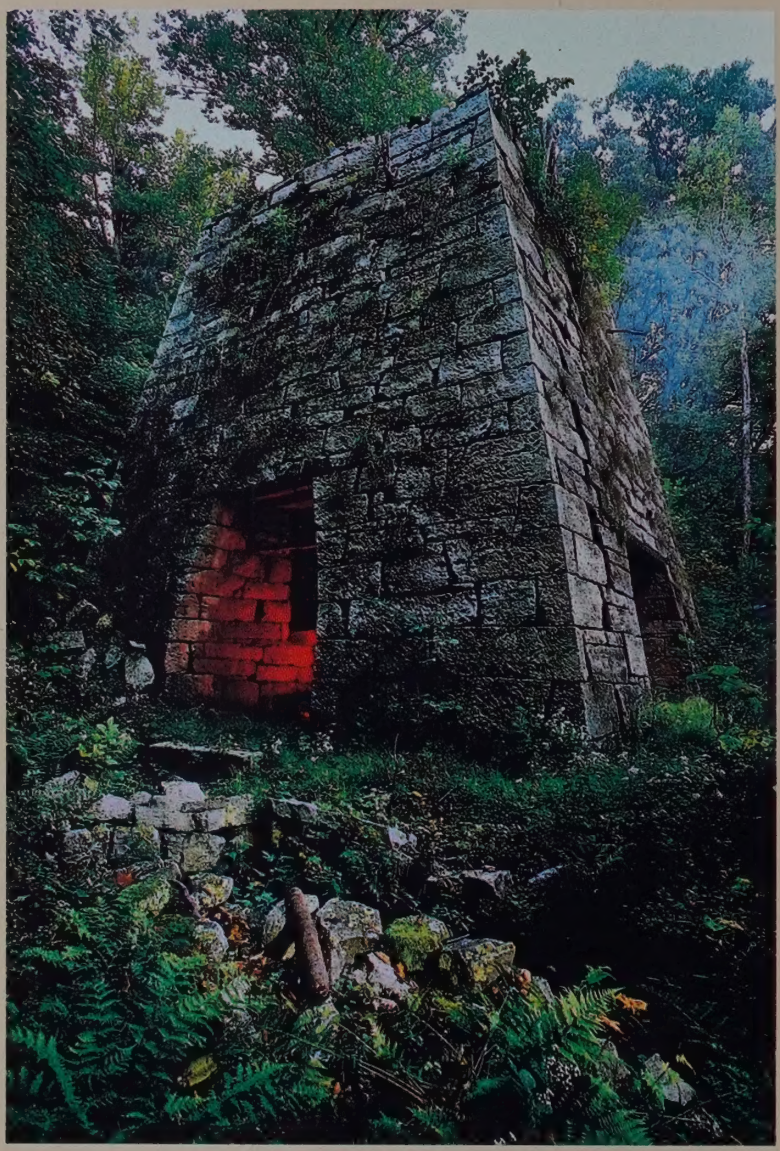


Sister rivers join at Harpers Ferry, where the Shenandoah, at right, loses itself in the Potomac. A Patowmack Company canal on the Potomac's Maryland shore bypassed the junction rapids, carrying boats through a 15-foot drop over

1,760 yards. Locks and canals were also built on the Shenandoah, opening it to commerce with the Potomac; 220 miles were eventually navigable, at a time when the long, fertile Shenandoah Valley was among the nation's richest farming regions.

wild turkey to the pileated woodpecker—that chicken-size role model for Woody Woodpecker. I've seen fox, deer, possum, and muskrat here and followed beaver tracks in fresh snow beside the stone canal walls.

A ten-year-old study reports that Virginia's Seneca area qualifies for the National Register of Historic Places. Hundreds of spearpoints, stone axes, and arrowheads suggest that it has been occupied for at least 8,000 years. Indians farmed the fertile riverbanks after A.D. 700. European history dates from the grant to two Culpepers and five companions in 1649. My own property title traces back to 1709. By 1740 there was an inn nearby offering haven to travelers. One entrepreneur, John Ballendine, started a canal here two years before the Revolution but went bust.



Here, too, on the moonless night of June 27, 1863, Maj. Gen. J.E.B. Stuart forded the river with 3,000 Confederate cavalry in a belated attempt to help Lee at Gettysburg.

And then there's the canal itself, which rates several wows from friends when I convince them Washington really did build those walls they're standing on. It's tempting to try to keep the area a secret among the few of us who use it as a private retreat, but it deserves better. Certainly there's no push to preserve or dignify it with historic-register status by the present landlord of this riverside wilderness—the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority. The authority inherited the artifact as part of a 741-acre tract of undeveloped riverbank. Its capital-area director, David Hobson, said the authority "intends to leave it in its natural state." That's fine for budgets and us bird-watchers, but a death sentence for the deteriorating canal.

My neighbor downriver, Sidney Spalding, a retired U. S. Army general and a dairy farmer, has done his part to preserve and protect the memory. He sold his very valuable land along the river to the park authority and gave it the only island in the river that belongs to Virginia. (All natural islands were granted

to Maryland, but Patowmack Island was sliced off the Virginia shore by the Seneca cut.)

NINE MILES below Spalding's Patowmack Farm, Ken and I reach Great Falls after polishing our canoe on a lot of hidden rocks. Summer drought makes the area unnavigable, with not enough current to create ripples. Like riverboats of old and all reasonable and cautious people today, we leave the river above the falls. An average of seven people a year drown between Great Falls and Little Falls.

We see the ruins of the only business to survive the closing of the locks here. Myers' Tavern—which became Dickey's Inn—was reputed to have served every President from Washington to Teddy Roosevelt. It closed in 1935 after 130 years. General Spalding—now 97—told me he ate there around 1914. "The food wasn't very good," he remembered.

In its heyday it had been the social center of Matildaville, one of the first planned towns in the United States. Entrepreneurs believed the available water power and the canal would spawn an industrial center. Light-Horse Harry Lee, father of Robert E. Lee, leased a site along the canal from Bryan, Lord Fairfax, and planned the town, which he named for his beautiful young wife, Matilda Lee, who had just died.

Only a few stones remain to show for all that 18th-century optimism. The vast majority of visitors to Great Falls Park walk past the ruins and over the canal without knowing they exist. Sadly, the whole project seems to have slipped from our national memory like a bad dream. Over the years token efforts to preserve the canal have popped up like mushrooms after a rain and lasted about as long. Though the canal locks still stand—or teeter—the whole complex needs friends as optimistic as those founding pioneers to preserve the site.

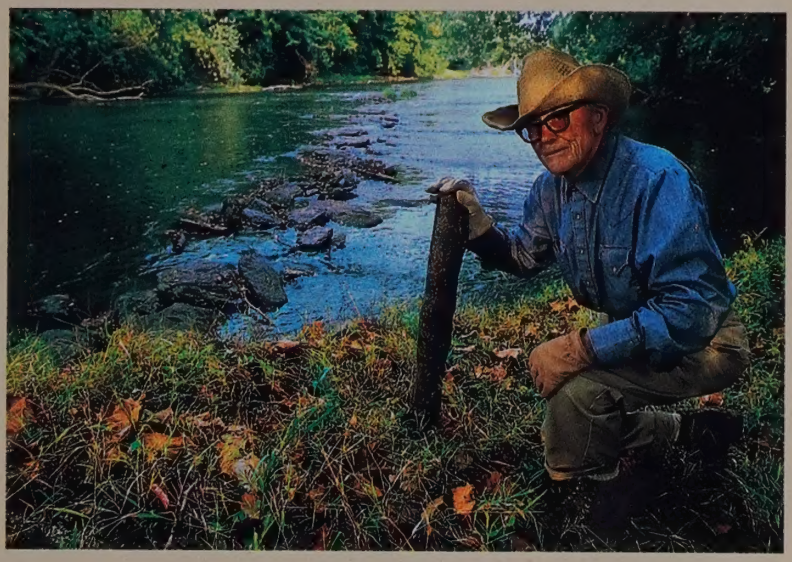
Park Superintendent John Byrne feels a personal and professional obligation to be one of those friends. He agreed the park needs a new film. "I don't know who labeled the project a 'folly.' We sure didn't."

Byrne, an engineer who also holds a law degree, will need a lot of bureaucratic skills, a bit of luck, and maybe a degree in psychology to succeed. In the heat of celebrating Washington's 200th birthday, Congress passed the 1930 Capper-Crampton Act that set up the park, with orders to look to the "preservation of the historic Patowmac Canal." And then Congress, the National Park Service, and everyone else forgot about it.

Even now, with the 200th anniversary of the Constitution

Wrecks were not infrequent in the swift current of the canal that skirted Seneca Falls, the only Patowmack Company canal section where water still flows. Today it is a popular run for kayakers and canoeists.

*Along its banks, Gen. Sidney Spalding (**below**) displays an iron "pig" found on his land at Seneca. It may have been part*



*of a lost cargo from upstream iron furnaces, like one whose walls still stand near the Cacapon River (**facing page**). The same casting is shown resting on rubble of the millrace that powered the furnace's bellows.*

Smelting local ore, such furnaces produced crude, or pig iron, so called for the typical shape of the castings: "The main mold was the sow," says General Spalding, who worked for a pig-iron foundry in his youth in Lowell, Massachusetts, "with the piglets coming off to the sides."

stirring interest in history again, not everyone wants the canal restored. Bird-watchers man the barricades against history buffs who would clear the site of overgrowth. At a spirited public meeting to air differences, one canal buff shouted, "You're ignorant!" at a naturalist who had said the canal was a disaster. The naturalist countered with eyewitness proof that Byrne's clearing operations had destroyed an Acadian flycatcher's nest.

"I'm in business to save birds," pleaded the superintendent, "but I have a mandate."

Some canal buffs will settle for stabilization. Others insist the canal be rebuilt, rewatered, restored to its glory days. Since dissension can paralyze park aspirations and congressional appropriations, progress will be slow. And birders can be tough. Last year, at the urging of one group, National Park Service Director William Mott ordered stabilization work halted until a plan is approved.

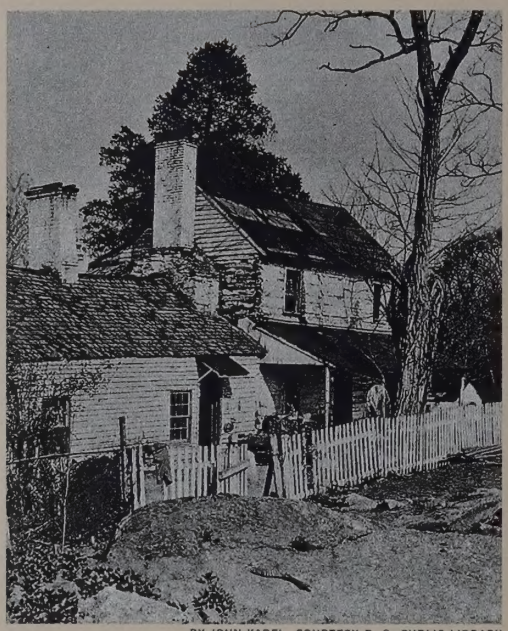
To help me understand the Park Service's preservation plans, Byrne takes me on a tour of the Great Falls canal site. To his educated eye, a string of rocks in the river is the "massive wing wall" funneling water and boats into the canal. Beside the path John sees a vague depression as the upper canal—clogged with boats and impatient crews. Just beyond the visitors center I see a jumble of old foundation walls, partly held together by tree stumps. John reconstructs the Samuel Briggs gristmill. More stones and a ditch are the John Potts-William Wilson forge and foundry.

My imagination needed little help with the five lock ruins that stretch the last half mile. Though some of the walls have been held up for ten years by ugly "temporary" props, they are impressive. Using a lot of sweat and black powder, workers hacked a notch in the wall of Mather Gorge for the last three locks by removing 4,300 cubic yards of rock. For 28 years the locks lowered thousands of boats 76 feet and 9 inches to slack water below the falls (pages 720-22).

WASHINGTON, ever the optimist, didn't think locks would be needed. (A sluice here like that at Seneca would have been a world-class amusement-park ride!) Rumsey convinced him locks were essential and proceeded to design them even though he had never seen one. Engineers have since said they were brilliantly conceived.

But troubles abounded. There was never enough money to pay bills. Workers were hard to find. To keep them happy, wages included three-quarters of a pint of rum every day. Rumsey wrote often of his labor problems: "Every time that they get a little Drunk, I am cursed and abused about their money in such a manner that contrary to my wish, I am obliged to turn abuser." Since the use of black powder in construction was not yet perfected, accidents occurred often: "We have Been much Imposed upon the last Two weeks in the powder way—we had our Blowers, One Run off the other Blown up. We therefore was Obliged to have two new hands put to Blowing."

*Founded for laborers and boatmen, Dickey's Inn (**below,** in a 1925 photograph) grew traditions of hospitality that lasted into this century. The only Matildaville business to survive long past the locks'*



BY JOHN KABEL, COURTESY D. C. PUBLIC LIBRARY

1830 closing, the log-cabin public house catered to weekend Washingtonians when Great Falls became a popular escape from the city. Presidents from George Washington to Theodore Roosevelt are said to have dined here. A turn-of-the-century rail line brought visitors to Great Falls Amusement Park, where an all-girl orchestra played in a lantern-lit dance pavilion.

*Long neglected, other ruins in Matildaville have recently received archaeological attention. Artifacts displayed on the foundation of the Patowmack superintendent's house (**facing page**) include parts of a wine bottle, tumbler, and other housewares, along with a clay pipe, marbles, coins, buttons, a ring, and a drawer pull.*

By the turn of the century there were still no working locks, but an incline had been built to lower boats and goods around Great Falls. A visitor in 1801 reported the holding basin crowded with boats and the hoisting machine working day and night. Flour came so plentifully that warehouses had to be built to store it. By 1802 the best of the superintendents, Leonard Harbaugh, finished the locks. The biggest obstacle behind them, boatmen still faced hazards—some man-made.

All along the river Ken and I found remains of V-shaped stone dams. Some were built as aids to navigation: By raising the water level at rapids, boats could scoot through the V as they would the tongue of a rapid. Others were built by Indians and settlers to trap fish by putting a basket at the V.

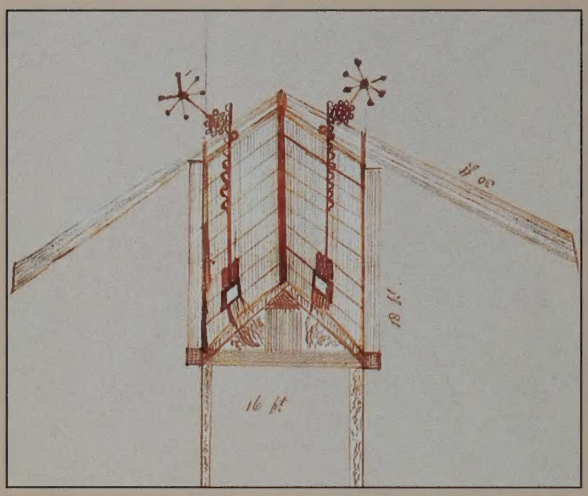
Washington declared that the "Fish Pots, of which there are many . . . clog the navigation." The same Capt. George Pointer who suffered a broken leg was assigned to remove them. Over many protests he ripped out 44 traps he deemed hazardous—at "the Risk of loosing my life by the inhabitants."

Pointer, born a slave, was permitted to buy his freedom for $300 while working on the canal. He became a supervisor and a company pilot leading boats down the river. Ironically, in 1829 he made a plaintive appeal to the directors of the C & O Canal because one of their men tore out *his* fish trap at Little Falls. He wrote that the new canal was also "drawing near my Little Cottage that I have occupied for 43 years, unmolested With an aged Wife and Some offspring. . . . I do trust in God, the giver of all things, that if the new Company does dispossess us . . . they will give me Some Little Place. God has prospered the old Canal that the father of his Country First brought into escistence and may he favour the new one." There is a record of a check to a Captain Pointer from the "old" company but no indication his plea was answered by the "new" one.

The last obstruction before Georgetown—the Little Falls that stopped John Smith and all who followed—had been defeated by Harbaugh with three locks by 1795, among the first locks built in America. Ken and I found only a token few rocks that can claim Patowmack Canal heritage. The C & O Canal was built over the old locks and over the dream.

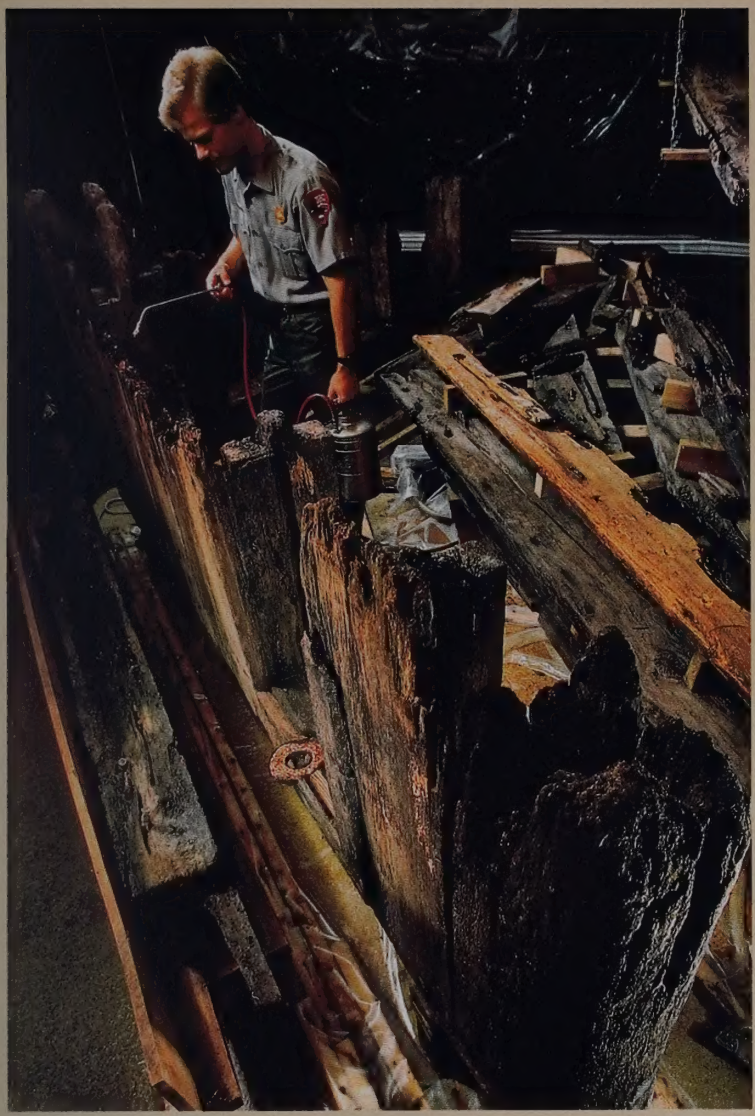
WASHINGTON'S WATERWAY was perhaps the last work of such scale attempted without federal support. It died in bankruptcy with all of its assets and liabilities turned over to the C & O Canal Company, launched on July 4, 1828. But events were moving fast. The new canal was doomed from its first day to disappoint stockholders. At almost the same moment that President John Quincy Adams turned its first shovel of dirt, 40 miles to the north Charles Carroll of Carrollton—the last surviving signatory to the Declaration of Independence— *(Continued on page 752)*

The challenge of lock building found no engineers in the United States with hands-on experience. Washington and Thomas Jefferson, a Patowmack Canal booster, first considered engaging an engineer from Britain or the Continent, where lock building had reached an advanced state. Then the decision was made to hire Rumsey. Visiting British engineers lent expertise at critical junctures.

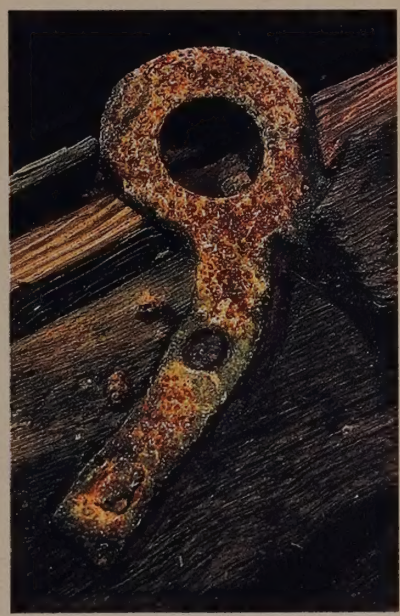


GEORGE WASHINGTON PAPERS, MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Rumsey designed lock gates but failed to build any during his one-year tenure at Great Falls, and his plans have not survived. This gate sketch shows guillotine-style sluices at the base for filling and emptying the locks while the main gates were shut. It was sent to Washington by Thomas Johnson, a prominent Marylander and an early ally of Washington for Potomac navigation. Evidence indicates that similar gates were built at Matildaville and later modified with butterfly-type sluices.

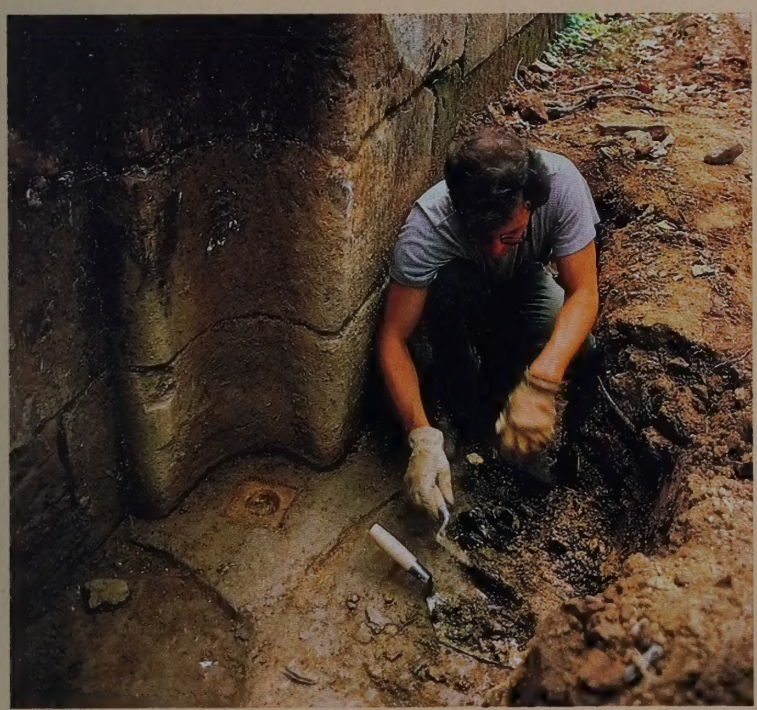


Mud was the savior of wooden beams and fragments from the base of a gate at lock one in Matildaville, found in 1982 excavations. Moved to an exhibit room at the Great Falls park facility, the gate section and miter sill—against which the gate fit when closed—



are treated with polyethylene-glycol preservative ***(above left)*** *to protect against exposure to air. Attached to the gate, an iron ring* ***(above)****—possibly made at Matildaville's forge—served as a center pivot in a butterfly sluice at the base of the gate.*

At the foot of the massive concave quoin stones of a guard gate that protected the locks, National Park Service conservation specialist John Barrow studies a miter beam ***(left)*** *that will be left in place to protect it from decay.*



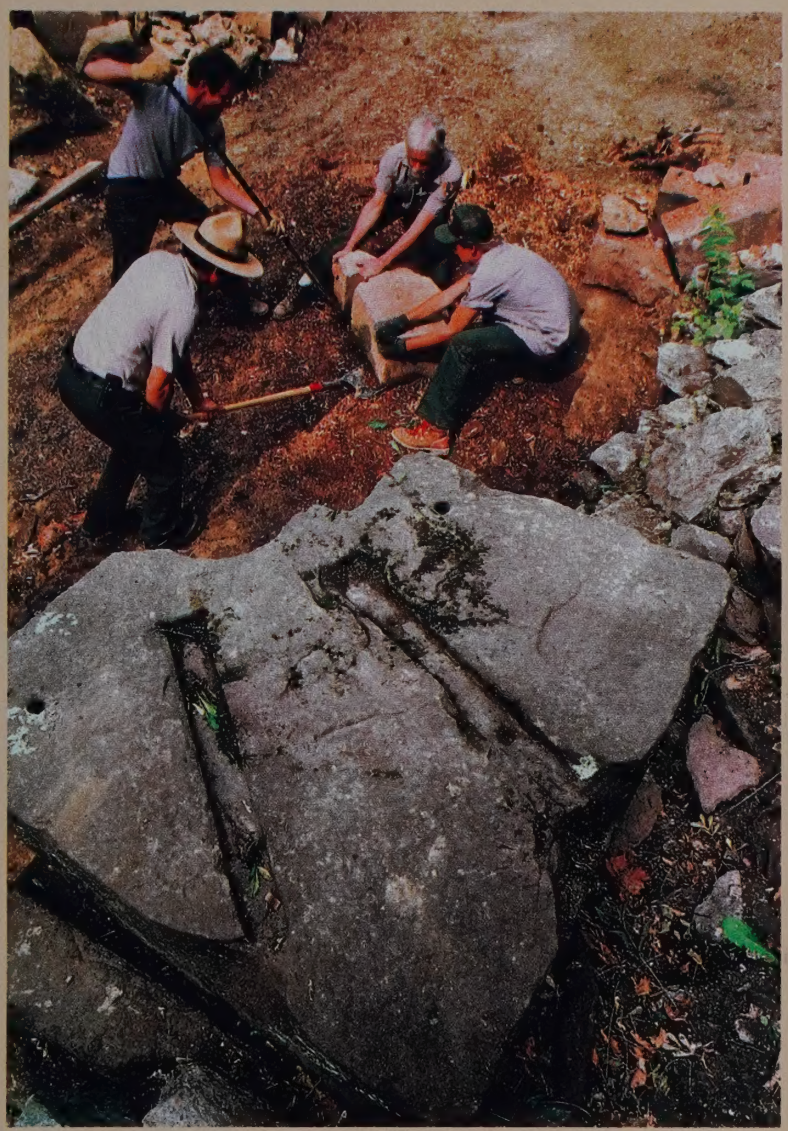
*The key to building the locks around Great Falls was finally found in the person of Leonard Harbaugh (**right,** at left). Work had been under way at Great Falls under a series of superintendents since 1786, but no locks had been completed there when Harbaugh took charge in 1797 after his success in circumventing Little Falls lower on the river. Harbaugh opened Great Falls' five locks in 1802. His son, Thomas, at right, also worked for the Patowmack Company, keeping this log of its operations.*

CHARLES HARBAUGH, JR., COLLECTION

Built to last, the tightly crafted stones of lock one ***(below left)*** *belie the pitfalls faced by superintendents during its construction. Labor was a major headache. Indentured servants showed a penchant for running away. Recalcitrants' heads and eyebrows were shaved on recapture. Finally, black slaves were rented from nearby plantations.*

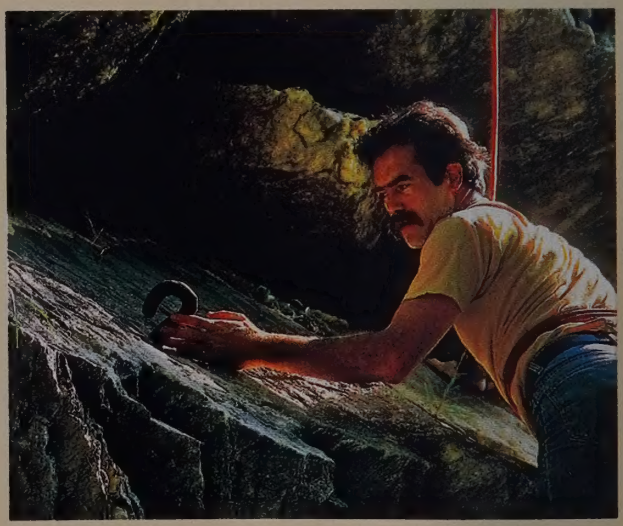
Professional masons left their individual marks ***(left)*** *on the locks' stones. Their skill is exhibited also at the Capitol, the White House, and the federal fort in New York Harbor on which the Statue of Liberty was erected—all bear some of the same mason's marks.*

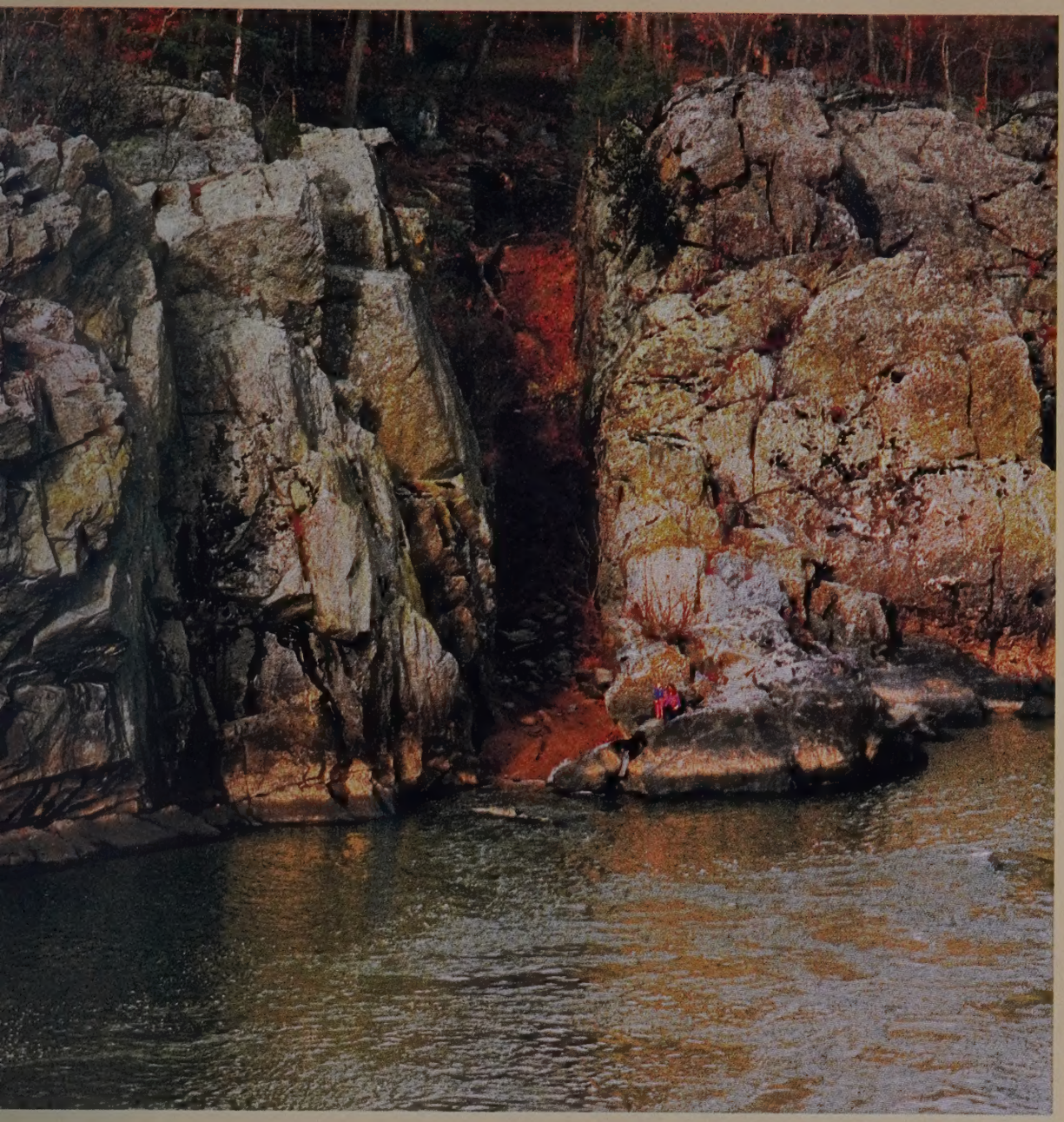
Years of neglect allowed the erosion of most of the Great Falls canal-and-lock complex. A park cultural-preservation team wrestles with a stone displaced by tree roots ***(below)****. A mandate to preserve the park's historic structures has led to protests from local bird-watchers, who object to the removal of trees in a prime birding site on the outskirts of Washington.*



*Rising to the greatest engineering challenge undertaken in 18th-century America, Harbaugh blasted a cut through a bulwark of stone (**above**) to link Matildaville's canal with the river below Great Falls and complete Cumberland-to-Georgetown navigation. Three locks in the defile carried boats up and down the precipitous drop.*

The project involved an early use of black blasting powder for





construction in North America. Blastholes are still visible in rock around the cut. Workers drilled holes with mallets and augers, then tamped and exploded the powder in work costly to life and limb. But such names on the payroll as "Hercules," "Bob the Blaster," and "Monster Manley" suggest the élan that went with the job of dealing with black powder.

Laborers at Matildaville were so roughhewn a lot that neighbors in the countryside complained of their threats and depredations—but received little sympathy from hard-pressed company overseers.

*Iron hooks set in the cut (**left**) may have been used to control boats in the locks. Before the locks' completion, tolls were charged on boats and cargoes transported around the falls by wagon or hauled up and down an inclined plane that led from the canal to the river.*

did the same for the nation's first major railroad, the Baltimore and Ohio. And that was the day the fates decided that Georgetown would eventually be absorbed by Washington, D. C., and Alexandria would become a quaint bedroom community of the capital, while Baltimore would become a major East Coast railhead and seaport. The B & O's success earned it a lot of money and a square on the Monopoly board.

Washington's canal project had made the Potomac navigable long enough. It had helped bring the western lands into the United States, when they might have evolved into a gaggle of separate countries as unneighborly as the nations of Europe or Africa. By the time the company died, the nation had more than doubled in size and 11 new states had been added to the Union.

Washington's interest in the project never flagged. On December 10, 1799, he was not able to attend the company meeting but voted his 73 shares by proxy. Four days later he died, after a full life. His last words: " 'Tis well."

If he could return for an inspection tour, Washington would have ample reason to be proud of the country he fathered. But he would be justified were he to scold us for our indifference to his great dream: a waterway west that did indeed help unify the nation. □

*Never the industrial and trade center envisioned by Washington and his peers, Washington, D. C. (**right**, with Georgetown in foreground), shows the low profile of a city built on government and tourism. Railroads and other canal routes ended the bid for a Potomac gateway to the West.*

*Georgetown remained a busy port through the Civil War. Oceangoing vessels and C & O canalboats called at the waterfront (**below**) in the mid-19th century, and—where Key Bridge stands today—an aqueduct carried boats across the river to connect with a canal to Alexandria. By then the Patowmack canal builders' contributions to nation building were bound into the republic's foundations.*

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE (BELOW)

Gray Whales

KODACHROME BY THOMAS ANTHONY DEFEO © N.G.S.

Riding the rigs of yesteryear, Mennonites head home from church. Families tend to be large, sometimes filling more than one buggy. These farming people live near Dayton, center of an Old Order sect that eschews automobiles and modern dress.

brought back 2,000 items, all donated—furniture, old coins, glassware, paintings. When the last of nine raspy-throated auctioneers had disposed of these, the student contribution toward the library totaled $112,000. The next morning the college trustees met and voted to award a contract for construction.

Historically, it is not student power but church power that valley educational institutions have most often known.

"Before public schools were established, the churches realized it was their responsibility to educate the young," explained Miss Martha Dabney Jones, headmistress of Stuart Hall. A preparatory school for girls at Staunton, it was founded by Episcopalians in 1844.

A paternal attitude by the early churches helped to make the valley an educational center. Seven colleges and nine preparatory schools ably maintain this reputation.

In 1842 Presbyterians in Staunton established the Augusta Female Seminary, now Mary Baldwin College. Both Mary Baldwin and Stuart Hall have expanded, but both still occupy their original Greek Revival buildings. On a hill near the two schools stands the birthplace of Woodrow Wilson, an educator before he entered politics.

Education Survives the Havoc of War

Not even the Civil War's devastation could kill the valley's interest in education. In fact, it promoted it. After the war, cavalryman Charles S. Roller returned to Fort Defiance, where he had been headmaster of a school in ante bellum days. This time he opened a school that emphasized military instruction.

It is not clear whether he set out to build a new officer corps against the time the South would need one. "But I don't think there's much doubt that the war played a part in his thinking," said Col. Malcolm H. Livick, superintendent of Augusta Military Academy, the school founded at Fort Defiance.

One of five military schools in the valley, it has helped Virginia earn global fame as a military training ground. This year's 416 cadets represent 26 states and 6 nations.

The Valley of Virginia—of which the Shenandoah forms the northern part—boasts many other educational institutions.

Two of these, at Lexington, long enjoyed associations with famous men. George Washington gave $50,000 worth of stock in a canal company to a small academy there, which became Washington College. It took the name Washington and Lee after Gen. Robert E. Lee served as its president. At neighboring Virginia Military Institute, Stonewall Jackson taught artillery tactics and natural philosophy. VMI counts as its most distinguished alumnus Gen. George C. Marshall, Army chief of staff in World War II and author of

In a Sunday surcease from drills and studies, cadets attend service in the Stonewall Jackson Memorial Hall at Virginia Military Institute in Lexington. From the walls hang flags of the 26 states that formed the Union when VMI was established in 1839.

Before the Civil War, Jackson taught for 10 years at the college. Behind the altar a huge painting depicts the charge of the corps of cadets at the Battle of New Market. Called out as last-ditch reserves, the students overwhelmed a key battery, briefly halting the Union advance.

Candles' warm glow bathes students during commencement at Southern Seminary Junior College in Buena Vista.

the Marshall Plan for European recovery.

The past, like the valley's limestone floor, always lies close to the surface in the Shenandoah. The sentinel watching over all the great events that have taken place there is the river itself. Looping through the valley, taking the runoff from hills and hollows (page 580), it flows as sonorously as the song sailors spread around the world in the age of sail:

O Shenandoah, I long to hear you,
Away, you rollin' river.
O Shenandoah, I long to hear you,
Away, I'm bound away,
'Cross the wide Missouri.

Folk song authorities believe the song originated on rivers farther west, perhaps on the Missouri—although the first men who sang it might well have been transplanted valley natives longing for home.

Some versions tell of a trader who courts the daughter of an Indian chief named Shenandoah. Cavalrymen sang a lusty version on the frontier. Somehow reaching the ocean, the song was carried to far-flung anchorages as a chantey that made shipboard chores go easier. No matter the history; the fame of "Shenandoah" is secure as one of the most beautiful folk songs in English, a worthy companion to a beautiful valley.

Historic sites add to the valley's luster. Within a few miles of one South Fork tributary were born—16 years apart—two men with a mighty destiny in the West. Sam Houston helped found Texas. Cyrus McCormick improved upon a contraption his father had tinkered with. When his reaper was perfected, in a log workshop that is now a museum, McCormick had set in motion a force that would revolutionize the grain harvest and make the Great Plains a granary for the Nation.

Wandering past the town of Shenandoah, the South Fork enters Page Valley, between the steep flanks of Massanutten Mountain and the Blue Ridge. Jackson played tag with Union forces along this part of the river and around Massanutten in the Civil War.

In a 3½-month campaign that has fascinated military strategists ever since, he marched the length of the valley three times. He struck the Federals at Kernstown, McDowell, and Front Royal, chased them out of Winchester, and thrashed them when they followed him to Cross Keys and Port Republic. His rapid maneuvers and stunning blows tied down more than 60,000 of the enemy, while a Union army before Richmond awaited reinforcements. But Jackson's 17,000 men slipped away to Richmond instead.

The North Fork, after tumbling down from

"Worth a voyage across the Atlantic," wrote Thomas Jefferson of the vista at Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Here at the valley's northern tip, waters of the Shenandoah, left, rush to join the Potomac. Near the point, they eddy around piers of two destroyed bridges,

the lofty ridges of its birth, passes through pastures near Broadway where in the 1700's lived a family named Lincoln. Two Lincolns, father and son, moved to Kentucky in the van of Shenandoah pioneers peopling western lands. The younger, named Thomas, was Abraham Lincoln's father. The Lincoln family cemetery, nearly overgrown with thistles, lies on a hillside above Linville Creek.

The first sizable town along the North Fork is New Market, founded by another pioneer, John Sevier. He later helped found something larger, the State of Tennessee.

On the hills north of town, dignitaries will gather next month to dedicate a new Hall of Valor, a million-dollar museum on the site where boys marched into battle in 1864. In one of the Civil War's more incredible tragedies, 257 cadets of Virginia Military Institute (page 584) were brought up from Lexington and thrust into the war because, simply, there was no one else. Three were not yet 16 years old. When the shooting stopped, 10 lay dead or dying and 47 had been wounded.

The North Fork has a hard time working around Massanutten to join its sister river. Between Woodstock and the mountain, it sweeps grandly through seven horseshoe bends. Finally reaching Front Royal, the North Fork joins the South Fork, and the augmented stream rolls into West Virginia.

At Harpers Ferry, where Washington prevailed upon Congress to establish an arsenal that John Brown later raided,* the Shenandoah joins the Potomac for a rocky plunge through the Blue Ridge. Thomas Jefferson thought a view of this convergence worth a trip across the Atlantic (preceding pages).

Elegant Washington Homes Survive

Of all the valley's historical figures, Washington looms greatest, and seven homes of his kin stand in and around Charles Town. Dolley and James Madison were married in Harewood, built by George's brother Samuel. His brother Charles built Happy Retreat in the town that bears his name.

Most elegant of all the Washington homes, Blakeley and Claymont Court regally face each other on hilltops a mile apart. George's grand-nephews, John Augustine and Bushrod Corbin Washington, who married sisters, built them in 1820.

*See "History Awakens at Harpers Ferry," by Volkmar Wentzel, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, March 1957.

I was struck by the contrast between these homes and the rude frame building at Winchester which, legends claim, served Washington both as a surveyor's office and as a command headquarters in the French and Indian War. Winchester preserves this humble relic as a museum.

The building was even humbler in Washington's day, Mrs. Frances Hobbs, the hostess, told me. "There are three rooms now, but in the 1700's there was only the middle one."

We measured it: 13 by 17 feet.

"Of course, no one on the frontier had much furniture to take up space," Mrs. Hobbs said.

Young Colonel Develops an Iron Will

Attempting to defend Virginia's frontier from the Potomac to North Carolina, Washington knew dire frustration in Winchester. Shortages of munitions plagued him. Indians easily avoided his scattered forces, scalping settlers in isolated cabins and then vanishing. Desertions thinned the ranks of the militia under his command.

Washington in desperation gave deserters the sternest justice. When courts-martial ordered two deserters shot, Washington hanged them instead, pointedly assembling his troops to watch.

Then the 25-year-old colonel wrote Governor Dinwiddie: "Your Honor will, I hope, excuse my hanging instead of shooting them. It conveyed much more terror to others. . . ."

In time, Washington brought a semblance of order to his command. If his men did not win victories, they at least kept the Shenandoah from being overrun. For the young commander, it was ideal training for the bitter days at Valley Forge.

Before leaving the Shenandoah in 1758 to take up the life of a planter at Mount Vernon, he got a taste of politics, winning a seat in the House of Burgesses.

"Washington's greatness as a general did not lie in his brilliance in winning battles," my friend Dr. Quarles remarked as we talked at Winchester one day. "He had an iron will, and that was what kept the Continental Army together in the Revolution. That will was developed right here on the frontier."

As I visited the numerous Washington landmarks in the beautiful and bustling Shenandoah, I thought again and again of Ben Belchic's words: "There's a lot of history behind, and a lot ahead."

KODACHROME BY MANUEL L. LOPEZ, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC STAFF © N.G.S.

a Shenandoah span swept away by a flood in 1936 and a Potomac trestle traversed by John Brown's raiders in 1859. Baltimore & Ohio trains use the two existing bridges. The National Park Service has restored many of the buildings in the historic riverside town.

DRAWING BY C. J. CASPERS, JR., ABOUT 1880; BETTMANN ARCHIVE

Young George Washington, studying a chart, surveys the valley in 1748

Shenandoah, I Long to Hear You

By MIKE W. EDWARDS
National Geographic Staff

Photographs by THOMAS ANTHONY DEFEO

FRANK BUCKLES eased his car across the shallow, gravelly bed of Bullskin Run. On the other side, we got out and walked up a grassy hill, somnolent under its canopy of maples and oaks.

"You're standing on the first land George Washington ever bought," he said. "He was not yet a man, but he saw a future for himself in this country."

We were five miles southwest of Charles Town, West Virginia. I had asked Mr. Buckles, a serious student of local history, to show me the land that fascinated Washington when, as a surveyor's apprentice, he crossed the Blue Ridge and descended into the Shenandoah Valley in 1748.

Washington was not the first man to be drawn to the Shenandoah, a cornucopia spilling nature's plenty into what we know now as Virginia and West Virginia (maps, pages 562-3). When he ventured into the valley, the land already was being cleared by early colonists, bold men who had dared put a formidable mountain range

Fingers of dawn touch a mantle of mist as Virginia's Shenandoah Valley wakes to a summer day. Beneath time-smoothed peaks of the distant Blue Ridge spreads a fertile land whose glens, groves, and famous river have for two and a half centuries molded men who helped shape the Nation.

KODACHROME © N.G.S. 554

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KODACHROME BY MANUEL L. LOPEZ, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC STAFF © N.G.S.

a Shenandoah span swept away by a flood in 1936 and a Potomac trestle traversed by John Brown's raiders in 1859. Baltimore & Ohio trains use the two existing bridges. The National Park Service has restored many of the buildings in the historic riverside town.

KODACHROMES BY NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHER ROBERT F. SISSON © N.G.S.

aphids—*if* ladybugs were available to work the spring shift. And if we can, indeed, succeed in keeping ladybugs on the job longer we may further reduce the use of chemicals.

Although my research has concentrated on convergents and alfalfa, many species of ladybugs are at work in the West, saving grain and other cultivated crops, helping to preserve grass on cattle ranges, and cutting down on the generations of aphids breeding in the wild.

Rodolia remains an important ally, as citrus growers found after trying DDT. The chemical destroyed fruit pests but it killed rodolia too, and cottony cushion scale began to reappear. New supplies of beetles brought into the groves promptly checked the invasion.

Meanwhile our high-flying convergents continue to thrive and earn our esteem as a natural resource worth millions of dollars a year in terms of crops saved. Come spring, they return to our fields and gardens. By learning more and more of their ways we hope to make them ever more welcome and expand their aphid-eating role. THE END

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KODACHROME © N.G.S.

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between themselves and the Atlantic. The Shenandoah has been making history ever since—and fascinating nearly all who come in contact with it.

I had come to the Shenandoah to enjoy its beauty and to learn about its past. Washington, although only 16 years old in 1748, was more practical. He cast upon the land the critical eye of a farm youth. As he rode through the valley, he noted in his diary that "the Land exceeding Rich and Fertile all ye. way produces abundance of Grain Hemp Tobacco &ca."

Valley Wilderness Tutors Washington

Husbanding his surveyor's fees, Washington was able to buy a thousand acres along Bullskin Run when he was but 18 years old—two years after he first glimpsed the land "exceeding Rich and Fertile." Later he bought still more land.

Today real-estate investors would count his purchases as incredible bargains. For a tract of 456 acres he paid only £122—less than the surveyor's fees he once earned in a month afield.

When he first saw the Shenandoah, Washington's prospects were quite modest for a son of Tidewater gentry. Third eldest surviving son of his late father's two marriages, he could look forward to no substantial inheritance; Mount Vernon would not be his until the death, years later, of his half-brother Lawrence's widow. The family even considered sending young George to sea.

"He wanted very much to improve his fortunes," Mr. Buckles observed. "The valley helped him do it."

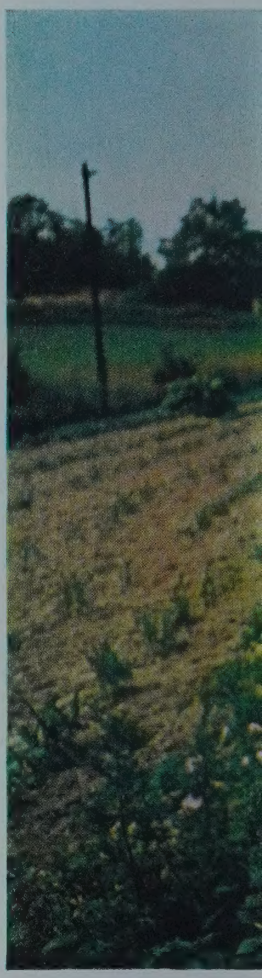
Mr. Buckles's interest in Washington springs from his own tie with Shenandoah's past; Buckleses were among its first settlers, arriving the year of Washington's birth.

Although he never lived on his Bullskin lands, Washington visited them often. Lawrence invested in adjoining property, and eventually Washingtons owned large acreages around Charles Town.

George's affinity for the wilderness grew so strong that for a decade he spent much of his time there. As a surveyor, landowner, politician, and commander of Virginia's frontier defenses in the French and Indian War, he crisscrossed the Shenandoah, learning lessons crucial to the destiny of the colonies he later led to independence and nationhood.

Other famous names abound in the valley, among them Stonewall Jackson, John Brown, Cyrus McCormick, Woodrow Wilson, and Richard E. Byrd. There were pioneer families named Houston and Lincoln. The Shenandoah became known as a land of great men and great events, a valley of heroes in the two Virginias.

A wide, bumpy furrow across the brow of the continent's eastern mountain ranges, the Shenandoah covers nearly twice the area of Delaware; more than a quarter-million people call it home. Near Steeles Tavern in Augusta County, Virginia, the most southerly tributary of the Shenandoah's South Fork begins a winding, northward course. Near Front Royal the waters merge with the sizable North Fork, which starts as a rushing mountain brook among the high ridges along the West Virginia border. For 140 miles of the great valley's length, the river coils like a braid of silver between the steep heights, finally joining the Potomac where



Veteran of the valley, Eugene Munch was born in the same log house as was his father and lives on soil tilled by his ancestors before the Revolutionary War. Even at 93 he gardens daily in summer. "He grows the finest potatoes in the valley," claims his wife Clara, who cans the corn, beans, and other vegetables her husband raises. The Munches dwell in a secluded vale called Fort Valley in a cleft of Massanutten Mountain. A lover of the outdoors, Mr. Munch missed going hunting last fall for the first time in half a century because of an ailing knee. He relishes talk of local history, a reflection of his family's long ties to the land and his own years as a high school history teacher.

Virginia, West Virginia and Maryland meet.

The 4,000-foot peaks of the Blue Ridge on the east (foldout, pages 555-7), and the Alleghenies on the west, wall out megalopolis and Appalachia. Many of the Shenandoah people I met live today on land their ancestors cleared when the Thirteen Colonies were not much more than a coastal strip of towns and farms.

In rural Fort Valley, tucked away in a crevice of Massanutten Mountain, a valley within a mountain within a valley, I asked Eugene Munch why he never moved off the land Munches settled before the Revolution.

"I've done some traveling, and there isn't any air freer or purer than right here," he answered, "and I never found any water clearer or colder than comes off these mountains."

At 93, Mr. Munch is a hearty testimonial to the salubriousness of Shenandoah air and water (above). He was digging potatoes in his garden when I visited him on a September afternoon. We talked about his plans for hunting deer when the season opened.

"He means it, too," Mrs. Munch told me. "He went last year and nothing's going to keep him from going this year."

As it turned out, he didn't go because of a bad knee—a temporary ailment, Mr. Munch assured me.

The Shenandoah is like Gene Munch—of venerable age, but vigorous still.

EKTACHROME (ABOVE) BY THOMAS ANTHONY DEFEO; KODACHROME (FOLLOWING PAGES) BY THOMAS ANTHONY DEFEO AND NELSON H. BROWN © N.G.S.

Fairyland in stone, Luray Caverns annually attract half a million visitors (following pages). In Saracen's Tent, at a depth of 90 feet, tourists gaze at draperies of glittering stalactites. Railed walk at extreme right leads toward the chamber housing the Great Stalacpipe Organ, which uses formations as "pipes" by striking them with rubber-tipped hammers.


Shenandoah Valley
Trying to provoke a slave uprising, John Brown and 21 men attacked the U. S. Arsenal and Armory at Harpers Ferry in 1859. He and surviving comrades were captured in the Armory fire-engine house after fighting that cost the lives of 10 followers, including two of his sons. Convicted of murder, conspiracy, and treason against Virginia, the fiery abolitionist was hanged at Charles Town.
According to legend, George Washington used this building in Winchester, Virginia, as his survey office and later as his headquarters when he commanded Virginia's frontier defenses in 1755-58 during the French and Indian War.
In Frederick County, the state's top apple-producing area, Winchester plays host each spring to the Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival. The valley produces more than half of Virginia's annual harvest, some 10 million bushels.
Capture of a Federal battery by courageous young cadets from Virginia Military Institute at Lexington aided in temporarily stopping the Union advance in the Battle of New Market, May 15, 1864.
At the limestone columns called Natural Chimneys near Mount Solon, Virginia, an annual jousting tournament takes place in August, when "knights" compete in one of the Nation's oldest continuously held sporting events.
Cyrus Hall McCormick built his first reaper on his father's farm in Rockbridge County, Virginia, in 1831 and gave the first public demonstration of the device that same year at nearby Steeles Tavern.
Woodrow Wilson, 28th President of the United States, was born in 1856 in the manse of the First Presbyterian Church in Staunton, Virginia. His father, the Rev. Joseph R. Wilson, was pastor.
Eight of the many caverns in the Shenandoah Valley's underlying limestone are open to the public. In the Luray Caverns an "organ" plays music on stone formations.
Confederate Gen. Thomas J. Jackson, nicknamed "Stonewall" for his courage during the First Battle of Manassas (Bull Run), thoroughly confused the enemy in his classic Valley Campaign of 1862.
Poultry farms in the Shenandoah Valley produce four-fifths of Virginia's chickens and turkeys.
Divided highways
Other highways
Civil War battlefield site
Elevations in feet
County names shown thus: PAGE
STATUTE MILES
DRAWN BY ELIE SABBAN
COMPILED BY HAROLD A. HANSON
GEOGRAPHIC ART DIVISION
© NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY
PENNSYLVANIA
MARYLAND
WEST VIRGINIA
ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS
SHENANDOAH VALLEY
BLUE RIDGE
Massanutten Mountain
Little North Mountain
Fort Valley
Page Valley
Luray Caverns
Hawksbill 4,050
Tanners Ridge
Shenandoah
Harrisonburg
Staunton
Waynesboro
Charlottesville
Winchester
Harpers Ferry
Front Royal
Luray
Stanley
Culpeper
Orange
Gordonsville
Louisa
Palmyra
Lexington
Buena Vista
Buckingham
Natural Chimneys
Mount Solon
Steeles Tavern
Deep Creek Lake
Mt. Davis 3,213
Bald Knob 2,890
High Knob 3,795
Mozark Mt. 3,850
Spruce Knob 4,862
Reddish Knob 4,397
Mt. Marshall 3,368
Miller Mt. 1,690
The Priest 4,056
Hall of Valor
GEORGE WASHINGTON NATIONAL FOREST
MONONGAHELA NATIONAL FOREST
JEFFERSON NATIONAL FOREST
HARPERS FERRY NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
SHENANDOAH NATIONAL PARK
SKYLINE DRIVE
VALLEY PIKE (GREAT WAGON ROAD)
APPALACHIAN TRAIL

Walled by mountain ranges, the Shenandoah Valley stretches serenely for 140 miles between East Coast megalopolis and the rugged Appalachians to the west (above). Paralleling the North and South Forks of the Shenandoah River (opposite), U. S. Highway 11 and Interstate 81 serve as corridors for burgeoning industry.

Charting the future, Vice Mayor Kenneth L. Jones, right, and City Manager Edwin D. Martin inspect parking-lot blueprints in Staunton, the valley's largest city, with 25,000 people. A funeral-home owner long active in community affairs, Mr. Jones is the first Negro ever elected to municipal office in Staunton.

Popular legend tells that the valley's name —an Indian word—means "daughter of the stars." It may or may not be true. But whatever the facts, the valley is a heavenly place.

And a happy one. Farms prosper. Small cities, spacious and sparkling in the sun, impress a visitor from the crowded, sooty seaboard. Several million tourists escape the urban East every year to enjoy the valley's beauty and breathe the pure air Gene Munch relishes. Many build weekend homes there.

The Shenandoah shows both its age and its vitality along the Valley Pike. I took the pike south from Winchester, over rolling hills, across streams flashing sunlight in groves of willows and sycamores, through cities the early settlers named: Strasburg (valley people pronounce it STRAWZ-burg), Edinburg, Harrisonburg, and Staunton (STANT'n).

Before any settlers came, the valley knew the footfall of trading Shawnee and warring Iroquois; in fact, one eminent etymologist holds that Shenandoah is Iroquois for "deer." By Washington's time the trail had become the Great Wagon Road, and to Civil War armies it was the Valley Pike, a name that lingers still. Officially U. S. 11, it was the valley's main stem until completion of Interstate 81 in 1969.

The first settlers cleared only as much land as a family could till. But they built large barns to match the soil's rich yields.

The farms along Highway 11 remain small,

and the barns large. They are typical of the Shenandoah, which yields half Virginia's apple crop, nearly all her poultry, and much of her beef, dairy products, and vegetables.

I heard of new industries and growing populations almost everywhere—at Winchester, Harrisonburg, Staunton, Waynesboro, Luray, Martinsburg. I found it so even in Middleway, a little jewel of a village eight miles west of Charles Town. With narrow maple-shaded lanes and not a billboard in sight, it looked as I imagined a village looked in the 1800's.

In Scollay Hall, Middleway's comfortable old tearoom, my wife and I finished a huge Sunday dinner—salty Virginia ham, fried chicken, mounds of fresh vegetables. Then we went for a stroll.

On the front porches of the sturdy brick and clapboard houses, people sipped iced tea. Then, to my dismay, I saw a sign directing traffic to a new printing-supplies factory. I followed its arrow, relieved to find it on the other side of a hill from the village, where its modern configuration did not disturb Middleway's well-tended past.

City Changed Hands Dozens of Times

When I visited Winchester, 15 miles to the southwest, Ben Belchic, President of the Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, warned me to expect such dichotomies of past and present as he showed me the city's old homes.

Many have pedigrees. For example: the home of Revolutionary War Gen. Daniel Morgan and the headquarters of Civil War Gens. Stonewall Jackson and Philip Sheridan.

Winchester also was the home of the famous Byrd brothers: Richard, explorer of Arctic and Antarctic,* and Harry, towering Virginia political leader and for almost 33 years a United States Senator. Harry Jr. now holds his late father's Senate seat.

"Many of the houses were built before the Civil War and some before the Revolution," Mr. Belchic remarked as we drove through the narrow streets, laid out 200 years before anyone worried about traffic jams.

We talked of Winchester's history. The city changed hands often in the Civil War—72 times, according to one diarist's count of occupations by army units large and small. Then we talked about modern changes: industrial growth, suburban sprawl.

"Here, you've got to look backward and forward at the same time," Mr. Belchic observed. "There's a lot of history behind, and a lot ahead."

Old Grave Hints at a Catastrophe

Mr. Belchic's words echoed in my mind the next day when I drove out to Opequon Church and walked in its graveyard. Presbyterians organized a body of believers on that site in 1737—one of the first congregations west of the Blue Ridge.

In the graveyard I knelt over a fieldstone slab and made out the crude letters and their wide embellishing serifs:

JOHN WILSON
INTERED HERE
THE BODYS OF
HIS 2 CHILDER &
WIFE YE MOTHER
MARY MARCUS
WHO DYED AGST
THE 4TH 1742
AIGED 22 YEARS

What calamity befell John Wilson's family? A massacre by Indians? Smallpox? A fire engulfing their tiny cabin?

I never worked out a satisfactory answer. As I pondered their fate, I was aware of the present intruding on my funereal reverie—the dualism of past and present about which Ben Belchic had spoken. From U. S. 11 a quarter of a mile away, traffic rumbled noisily. Near the highway, bulldozers growled, clearing more land in Winchester's neat industrial

*See "Admiral of the Ends of the Earth," by Melville Bell Grosvenor, NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC, July 1957.

Its creaking stilled, a 40-foot water wheel stands locked by rust in Shepherdstown, West Virginia, on the Potomac, at the north end of the Shenandoah Valley. Powering a gristmill for Thomas Shepherd, it ground corn and wheat for Civil War combatants, for whom this land served as granary, highway, and battleground. Here Gen. Stonewall Jackson masterfully confounded the War Department in Washington with a series of whirlwind maneuvers, outfighting the men of three Federal commands. Gen. Robert E. Lee marched through on his way to Gettysburg. The valley's role as a haven for Confederate forces ended in 1864-65, when Gen. Ulysses S. Grant ordered a Northern Army to lay waste to it systematically "so that crows flying over it . . . will have to carry their provender with them."

park. It already accommodates such prestigious firms as Capitol Records (pages 568-9), Rubbermaid, and Harris Intertype.

Later, I visited Richard D. Robertson to ask what industry found so attractive in the valley. Mr. Robertson, a vice president of Philip Morris U.S.A., directs the several operations of the General Products Division. This includes the American Safety Razor factory near Staunton, where he has his office.

As we talked, I reflected on one of the advantages the valley offers industry: the view an executive has from his office window. We looked out on a farm where fat Herefords and Angus meandered over an emerald hillside. No number of tranquilizers, I reckoned, could soothe the nerves of a harassed captain of industry as well as that bucolic scene.

But does this kind of thing really attract expensive managerial talent? Mr. Robertson answered for himself.

"My family and I moved here in 1961 from

Appalachian artist Robert Kuhn works and lives in a former Episcopal church atop 2,800-foot Tanners Ridge near Stanley, Virginia. In a shower of sparks from his welding torch, he works on his steel sculpture, "Girl With Jacks," for an exhibit in Washington, D. C.

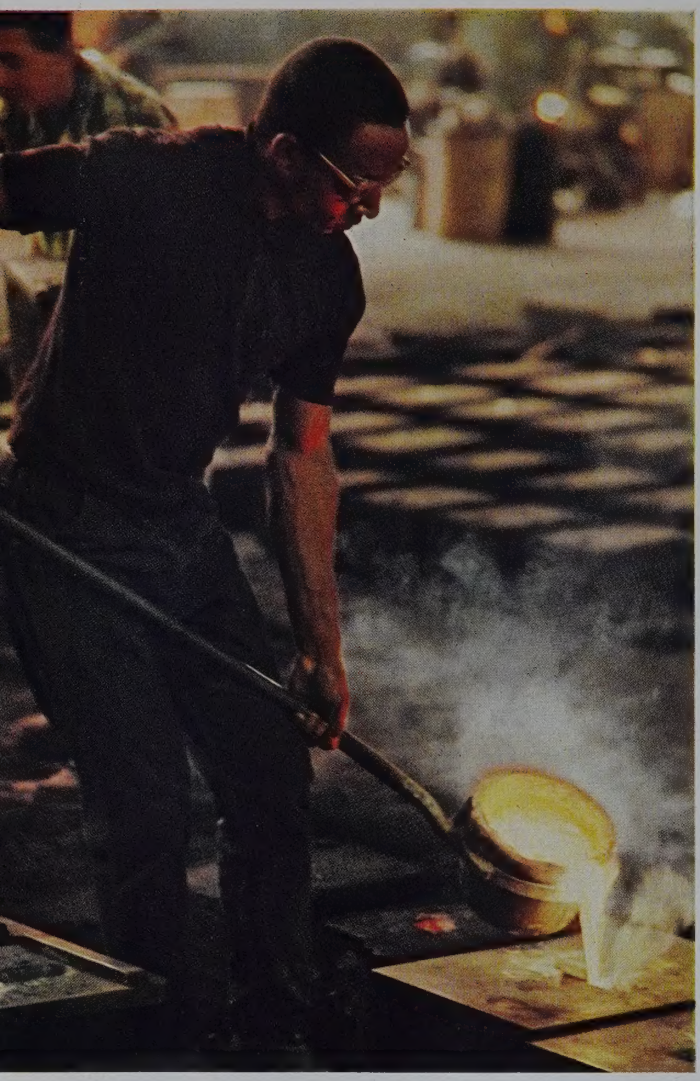
Good life in the Shenandoah: Mr. and Mrs. Gale Richmond relax at Oak Hill, their home in Augusta County. The many-windowed house looks out on a 600-acre tree farm. A former textile executive, Mr. Richmond joins growing ranks of the semi-retired in the peaceful valley.

Darien, Connecticut, where we were 40 minutes from all the advantages of New York. It was a major change, but now we love it."

Mr. Robertson told me his firm chose its valley site for several reasons—good transportation, a climate in which the company was made to feel welcome, and adequate power and labor. But he dwelt upon the people who man ASR's production line. The rate of absenteeism has been low—less than half the national average.

"But what I like most about them is that they're pleasant," Mr. Robertson said. "Walk through our factory and you'll find people who smile and say hello. I've operated businesses all my life, in the United States and overseas, and I've never found a nicer bunch of people to work with."

There's a slightly unkempt look about American Safety Razor's men—Vice President Robertson included—as they arrive for work. And ASR is quite happy about it.



Spoon-feeding a mold with molten brass, a foundryman casts candlesticks at Virginia Metalcrafters in Waynesboro. Founded in 1890 to make stoves, the firm has kept craftsmanship alive with reproductions of 18th-century antiques.

Music maid at the Capitol Records plant in Winchester oversees a battery of automatic stamping machines; each presses 100 discs an hour, here the

The company encourages them to shave at the factory, providing 300 stubbly faces upon which the quality of ASR's principal product —the razor blade—can be tested.

Just across the valley in Waynesboro, General Electric employs 2,200 people in the manufacture of controls for missiles, spacecraft, aircraft, and heavy machinery. Among the employees are 200 engineers.

The transformation of a largely agrarian economy into one balanced by industry was not achieved without some agony.

"All of a sudden the local people were finding strange new faces in their churches and their PTA's," a Chamber of Commerce spokesman told me. "Some of these newcomers were expressing ideas that were pretty foreign to what local people felt. They had to swallow hard sometimes. But they accepted the newcomers—and their ideas."

This is one way the valley is changing.

Autumn Spectacular Lures Throngs

On autumn weekends, the colors of the valley and its mountain rim lure bumper-to-bumper traffic to the 105-mile-long Skyline Drive, in Shenandoah National Park atop the Blue Ridge. On haze-free days you can see

EKTACHROME (LEFT) AND KODACHROME © N.G.S.

Beatles' album, "Abbey Road." Employing round-the-clock shifts recruited from a large and willing force of skilled labor, the newly opened factory joins a fast-growing roster of nationally known industries in the valley, including Du Pont, Westinghouse, General Motors, General Electric, and the 3M Company.

across the valley 25 miles to the Alleghenies. It is a magnificent view any time of year, and to Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia, it called to mind great discoveries and the splendor of past civilizations.

Leading a party of adventurers into the Shenandoah in 1716, Governor Spotswood was one of the first colonists to see the magnificence of Virginia's western domain. The explorers gave the South Fork of the river what they thought to be a fitting name: Euphrates. On its banks the governor buried a bottle containing a paper which claimed the territory for George I. It was the occasion for a celebration probably unequaled since.

As John Fontaine, a member of the party, recorded it, the dozen or so men were called together and their guns loaded. "We drank the King's health in champagne and fired a volley, the Princess' health in burgundy and fired a volley and all the rest of the Royal Family in claret and a volley. We drank the Governor's health and fired another volley.

"We had several sorts of liquors, viz., Virginia red wine and white wine, Irish usquebaugh, brandy, shrub, two sorts of rum, canary, cherry punch, water, cider, etc."

The governor understandably seems to

have been somewhat bemused. He returned to Williamsburg believing he had almost reached Lake Erie; Indians told him it lay just beyond a distant mountain. Actually he hadn't come within 250 miles of the lake.

The valley looks good not only from the Blue Ridge, but also, I found, from 160 feet underground. Visitors can obtain the lower view because caverns honeycomb the Shenandoah's limestone floor—chambers shaped slowly but inexorably by subterranean waters. Eight of the many caverns are open to tourists, and in one of them the stalactites play music (pages 560-61).

Hymn Rings Out From Three-acre "Organ"

In a vaulted chamber of Luray Caverns, amid eerie spires of stone, guide Linda Sullivan pressed a button. The somber notes of "God Be With You Till We Meet Again" resounded majestically in the cool, moist air.

"You are standing inside the world's largest musical instrument," she announced. With 40 other persons who were touring the cave, I stood in awed silence as rubber-tipped hammers, triggered electronically, thumped stalactites over an area of three acres. Some emitted a low and mournful bass, deep as a foghorn. Others responded with high clear tones that rang like costly crystal.

"It's a promotion man's dream," I said later to Frank Yates, a member of the staff of Luray Caverns Corporation. "P. T. Barnum couldn't have thought up anything wilder."

"But the man who thought it up is dead serious about it," Mr. Yates answered. "He's worked for years to perfect it."

Leland W. Sprinkle of Springfield, Virginia, an electronics engineer and organist, approached Luray Caverns President H. T. N.

"So tame I could almost pet them," marveled photographer DeFeo of deer roaming Shenandoah National Park. Browsing white-tails constantly delight motorists on Skyline Drive, a 105-mile mountaintop highway threading the park in the Blue Ridge.

Unaware of a trap about to be sprung, wild turkeys crowd around grain bait in million-acre George Washington National Forest. A few seconds later a state wildlife official, hidden with the photographer, touched off small concealed cannons that catapulted a net over the feeding birds. Captives will be shipped to stock other Virginia forests.

Bull's-eye! Charging at full gallop, a "knight" spears a ring at the 148th annual Natural Chimneys Jousting Tournament last August. Tourists flock both to the tourney and to the chimneys, seven weirdly weathered towers of limestone reaching to a height of 120 feet.

EKTACHROME (ABOVE) AND KODACHROME © N.G.S.

Graves in 1954 with the idea of an "organ" that would use stalactites as "pipes."

"I thought he was a screwball," Mr. Graves said. "How do you make rocks give music?"

Mr. Sprinkle went through the cave, patiently testing the stalactites. When he found one that was slightly below a required tone, he brought it up to concert pitch by grinding away some of its bulk. Eventually he hooked the stalactites' rubber-tipped hammers to a large organ console through a maze of electronic gadgetry, using miles of wire. The result is an incredible instrument that creates music from solid rock.

Retuning Due in a Thousand Years

I met Mr. Sprinkle on a Saturday night when he was in the cavern to record music. He took me to an isolated chamber to see the organ's brain. Although there is a console in the cavern, he explained, most of the selections that tourists hear are produced mechanically, player-piano fashion, on 40-inch-wide sheets of perforated Mylar. The varied repertoire on plastic includes "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," "Deck the Halls With Boughs of Holly," and Bach's "Minuet in G."

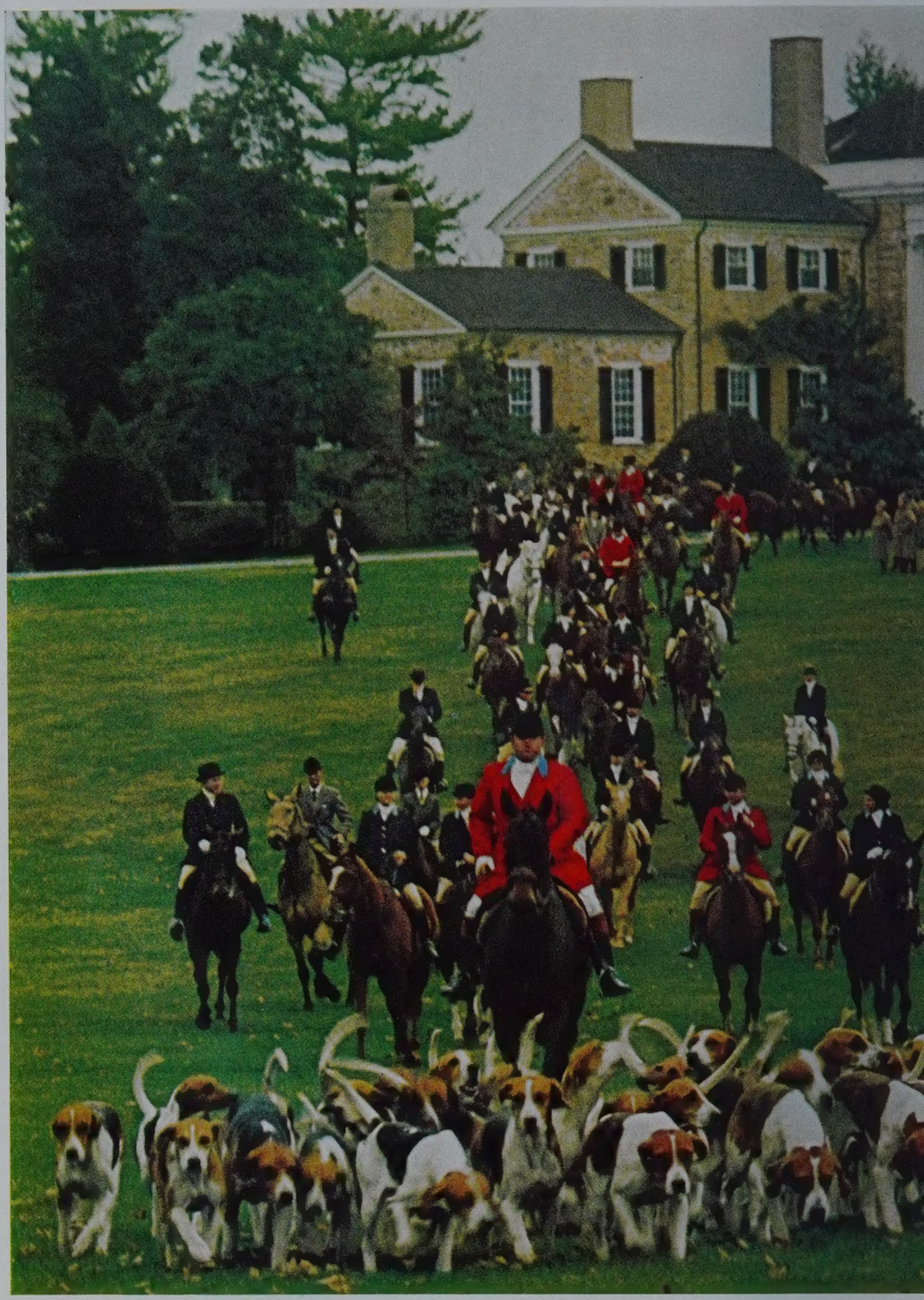
Mr. Sprinkle went to the console and played a sprightly Irish tune, listening critically to the response of each stalactite. I asked if the stones would ever need retuning. "Since they grow about a cubic inch in 120 years, the big ones should be checked at least once every thousand years," he said.

Besides carving caverns, water has left other strange phenomena in the region. Natural Bridge, which, strictly speaking, lies south of the Shenandoah, is the remainder of a cavern that collapsed (opposite).

At Mount Solon, within the Shenandoah, wind and water exposed seven limestone pillars ranging in height from 65 to 120 feet. They look rather like the remains of an ancient turreted fortress.

Under a more prosaic name, Natural Chimneys, these shafts have been a popular tourist attraction for four decades, and also the locale of what some Virginians claim to be the Nation's oldest continuously held sporting event. Legend says that a jousting tournament took place there in 1821, when two young gallants

"Bridge of God," Monacan Indians called famed Natural Bridge when they worshiped beneath its 215-foot-high arch. Young surveyor George Washington traveled through this area about 1750, a trip that may explain the initials "G. W." carved in the rock behind the foliage at left. Thomas Jefferson considered the limestone wonder "the most sublime of Nature's works," and purchased it from George III for a mere 20 shillings. Still privately owned, the span lures 260,000 visitors a year.



To the cry of hounds and the stirring notes of the huntsman's horn, elegantly garbed members of the Blue Ridge Hunt ride out from Carter Hall near Millwood. The sprawling manor house, completed in 1792, served as headquarters

EKTACHROME BY THOMAS ANTHONY DEFEO © N.G.S.

for Stonewall Jackson, and often hid Col. John Mosby, the Confederacy's evasive "Grey Ghost." Though damaged during the Civil War, it escaped the total destruction suffered by many fine homes as the tides of battle swept the valley.

competed for a lady's hand. Now riders gather annually on an August weekend to try to spear suspended steel rings at full gallop (page 572).

Stories of grass so tall it could be tied over a horse's saddle attracted the first settlers to the Shenandoah in the 1720's and 1730's. They were Germans, Scots, Irishmen, Englishmen, a few Swiss, and a few Frenchmen.

While the Blue Ridge made Virginians hesitate, settlers streamed south from Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, across the Potomac River and into the valley (maps, pages 562-3). Some obtained land grants from the Virginia governor and council. Some merely squatted. Some paid rent to Thomas, Lord Fairfax, whose 5,200,000-acre proprietorship, the Northern Neck of Virginia, included half the valley.

Same Farm Nurtures Eight Generations

At Winchester I went to visit Dr. Garland Quarles, who has carefully studied the records of early settlers, to ask what kind of people they were.

"A few well-to-do families came in the early 1700's," he said, "but mostly they were just ordinary people—shopkeepers, farmers, artisans."

The roots the settlers put into the valley soil went deep. "My children are the eighth generation of Snapps to live on this land," apple grower Roland Snapp told me as we stood at the back door of his home on the Cedar Creek Grade, near Winchester.

He pointed into a gently sloping valley. "My father, my grandfather, and my great-grandfather were born in a house that stood there," he said. "In a geographical sense, I haven't gone very far in the world."

Mr. Snapp showed me the thick, speckled paper upon which Lord Fairfax granted a tract to John Snapp on July 23, 1750. The words, written in a flourishing hand, began:

"The Rt. Hon. Thomas Lord Fairfax, Baron of Cameron in that part of Great Britain called Scotland and Proprietor of the Northern Neck of Virginia, to all whom this present writing shall come sends Greeting. . . ."

For "compensation to me paid," plus an annual quitrent of "one shilling sterling money" for each 50 acres of land, Lord Fairfax granted to John Snapp 400 acres "on the east side of Little North Mountain beginning at a hiccory and red oak sapling. . . ."

Beyond Mr. Snapp's orchard, the sun was setting over a low ridge. "That's Little North Mountain," he said.

Mountains and valley teemed with game when Washington surveyed in the Shenandoah. "One of our Men went out with ye Gun and soon Returned with two Wild Turkies" records a typical entry in his diary.

Turkeys still live in the Shenandoah, in part thanks to the favorable environment afforded by the George Washington National Forest (pages 570-71). This million-acre domain includes the Alleghenies along the Shenandoah's western edge, part of the Blue Ridge, and part of Massanutten Mountain. The national forest has helped make outdoor recreation one of the Shenandoah's biggest businesses; some 460,000 hunters, 300,000 fishermen, and 400,000 hikers, picnickers, and swimmers enjoy the forest each year.

But its ranges can't boast of as many turkeys as can Robert H. (Twig) Strickler and his brother Charles, known as "Chip." Their corporation, Rocco Feeds, Inc., grew two million domestic turkeys last year—18,000 tons of meat for Thanksgiving dinners and lunch-counter meals across the Nation—and hatched 21 million chickens. Such huge production enables Rockingham and nearby counties to account for 80 percent of Virginia's poultry output. Feed mills, meat processors, and allied

Big time in apple town

EARLY EACH MAY when trees bloom and bees buzz (left), Winchester plays host to more than 100,000 visitors at the Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival.

Twenty-year-old Nancy Hardin, daughter of the Secretary of Agriculture, reigned as queen during last year's three days of pageantry, parades, and parties. Here, escorted by U. S. Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., she leaves the front steps of John Handley High School, scene of her coronation.

Last January Miss Hardin wed Douglas L. Rogers, son of the Secretary of State. The marriage between the scions of two Cabinet Members was hailed by President Nixon as "an historic first."

Senator Byrd represents the ninth generation of a noted Virginia family. His father, whom he succeeded in the Senate, became the world's largest individual apple-orchard owner, with some 4,000 acres and 200,000 trees in rows as long as two miles. Virginia ranks sixth among apple-producing states, harvesting 10 million bushels a year.

firms swell Rockingham's gross income from poultry to $70,000,000 annually.

On a farm outside Harrisonburg, the Stricklers showed me how science and mass-production techniques have transformed the poultry business.* We entered a building where 64,000 Vantress Cross chicks reveled in air-conditioned comfort. The temperature, too warm for me, was just right for them.

"We keep it at 82°," Twig said. "That's the optimum temperature for producing the largest bird from the smallest amount of feed."

*See "The Revolution in American Agriculture," by Jules B. Billard, GEOGRAPHIC, February 1970.

With such careful control of the environment, broilers can be grown to slaughtering size in 8 weeks, Twig said. "Not many years ago we thought we were doing really well to get them ready in 14 weeks."

Machines That Pick Apples

Around Winchester I found a similar scientific-industrial revolution overtaking the Shenandoah apple orchards, the legacy of another early enterprise in the valley. Washington required each of his farm tenants to put at least four acres in apple trees.

Valley orchards, in an average year, yield

five million bushels—Red Delicious, Golden Delicious, Yorks, Staymans, Romes, Winesaps. Valley folk so appreciate the revenue from them that they stop whatever they are doing around the first of May to hold the Shenandoah Apple Blossom Festival.

This annual extravaganza—no other word quite describes it—of pageantry and pomp climaxes in a four-hour-long parade that transforms Winchester's streets into rivers of color. The festival has become so famous that it fetches marching bands from as far away as Miami and New England (page 577).

A new instrument of agricultural revolution, the mechanical picker, has invaded the orchards. It grasps a limb in large claws and shakes vigorously, tumbling the fruit into a canvas bed stretched around the tree.

I found researchers at Virginia Polytechnic Institute's experiment station at Winchester busy with the question of whether the machine equals the efficiency of a good pair of human hands. The machine works faster—but the hands bruise fewer apples.

Two orchards near Winchester already own mechanical pickers, hedging against one of the grower's most frustrating uncertainties, the availability of labor at harvest.

John F. Watson, executive secretary of the Virginia State Apple Commission at Staunton, told me about other developments that have helped the growers.

"Stop-drop" sprays retard the maturing of tree cells next to the apple stems—the cells that cause the fruit to fall. This allows the grower more time for picking. Powerful sprayers apply a faster and more even coat of chemicals to combat rust, scab, mildew, mites, leaf rollers, and codling moths.

Bulk loaders enable the grower to handle more fruit with less labor. Dwarf and semidwarf varieties make picking easier and yield more apples per acre than standard trees.

"Apples do grow on trees," Mr. Watson conceded. "But gosh, they need a lot of help."

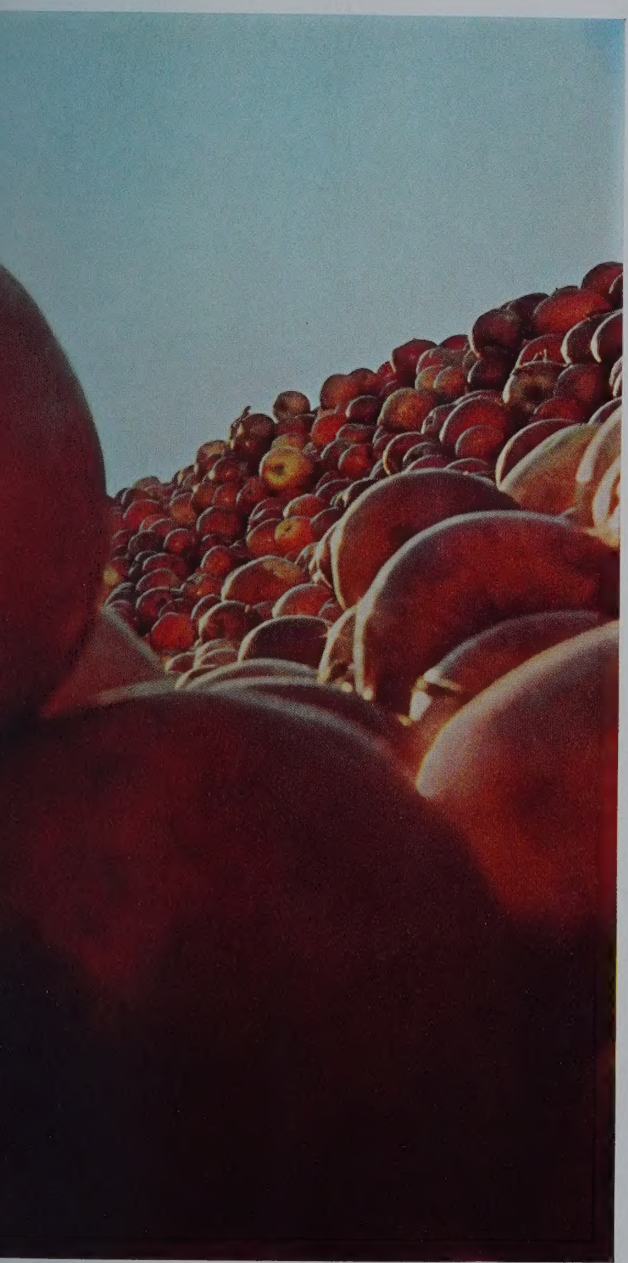
Mennonites Cling to the Old Ways

Amid the highly mechanized agriculture of the Shenandoah, some people still live in the horse-and-buggy era—by choice. These are the Mennonites.

"We're Mennonites of the Old Order," stressed 70-year-old Walter Beery when I visited his home. "We follow the old ways."

On a quiet Sunday morning at Dayton, where the Beerys live, I saw a procession of black buggies carrying large Mennonite families to church services (pages 582-3). Merchants in nearby Harrisonburg provide hitching posts in front of their stores for Mennonites who drive into town to do their shopping.

Mrs. Beery and three Beery daughters



KODACHROME © N.G.S.

Atop an Everest of apples, a workman feeds a vinegar mill at the H. J. Heinz plant in Winchester. Piled high by the conveyor beside him, the fruit cascades down to a water flume in the foreground and washes into a press. The operation devours 28 million pounds of apples each year, pouring forth 2,600,000 gallons of vinegar.

In leisurely loops, the North Fork of the Shenandoah River wriggles northward past trough-topped Massanutten Mountain. Within the stream's coils lie grainfields, bluegrass pastures, and comfortable farmhouses standing in the shadow of commodious barns. Ridges lean like flying buttresses against the massive nave of Massanutten, which rears abruptly from the valley floor.

Cheeks rippling in the slipstream 6,500 feet above the valley, a skydiver prepares to leap. Plummeting earthward, he will twist his body into intricate arabesques, then open his parachute with only 2,000 feet to go. Swelling ranks of the Shen-Valley Skydivers at Waynesboro attest to the popularity of the daring sport.

greeted me in ankle-length dresses, beneath which showed lace-up black shoes and black stockings. Kerosene lanterns stood on a shelf in the living room; the Beerys eschew electricity and all its conveniences.

Old Order Mennonites, Mr. Beery explained, not only dress and live simply; they do not vote, bear arms, recognize divorce, or welcome extensive education. "The Bible says the father shall make known the ways to the children," he observed. His daughters Lydia Ann, Carrie, and Vada, in their forties now, completed the seventh grade.

Hands Must Be Kept Busy

As we sat in the living room, Carrie and Vada put finishing touches on throw rugs loomed in pioneer fashion. I realized that the Beery household knew few idle moments.

"We were all brought up to work," Mrs. Beery explained. "We're not satisfied any other way."

Mr. Beery raises broilers. Mrs. Beery grows flowers and vegetables to sell. The daughters add to the family income by weaving rugs and coverlets, besides helping with chores. "Carrie milks the cows and Lydia Ann is my baker," Mrs. Beery said.

I was treated to Lydia Ann's skill at lunch —brown bread still warm from the oven, peach shortcake, and gingerbread. These went with a meal of fried chicken, butter beans, tomatoes, cabbage, cantaloupe, and watermelon-rind preserves. Eating is one of the pleasures of the Shenandoah.

Still, there are difficulties for the Beerys. It grows harder each year to maintain the old ways, when everything moves so fast, Mrs. Beery told me. A horse-drawn buggy becomes a hazard on a high-speed road.

"We drive the five miles to Harrisonburg only about twice a year now because of the traffic," she said. "Sometimes I wonder if there is any room left for us."

Most Mennonites have made various compromises with the pace of the world. Some use electricity in their barns, but not in their houses. Some have electricity in both; many

drive cars. The Eastern Mennonite branch approves of higher education, supporting a college for 950 students at Harrisonburg.

The students of Eastern Mennonite College treated the valley last fall to a display of student power as awesome as any on demonstration-wracked American campuses —but in a different way. They organized not to lay siege to a library but to build one.

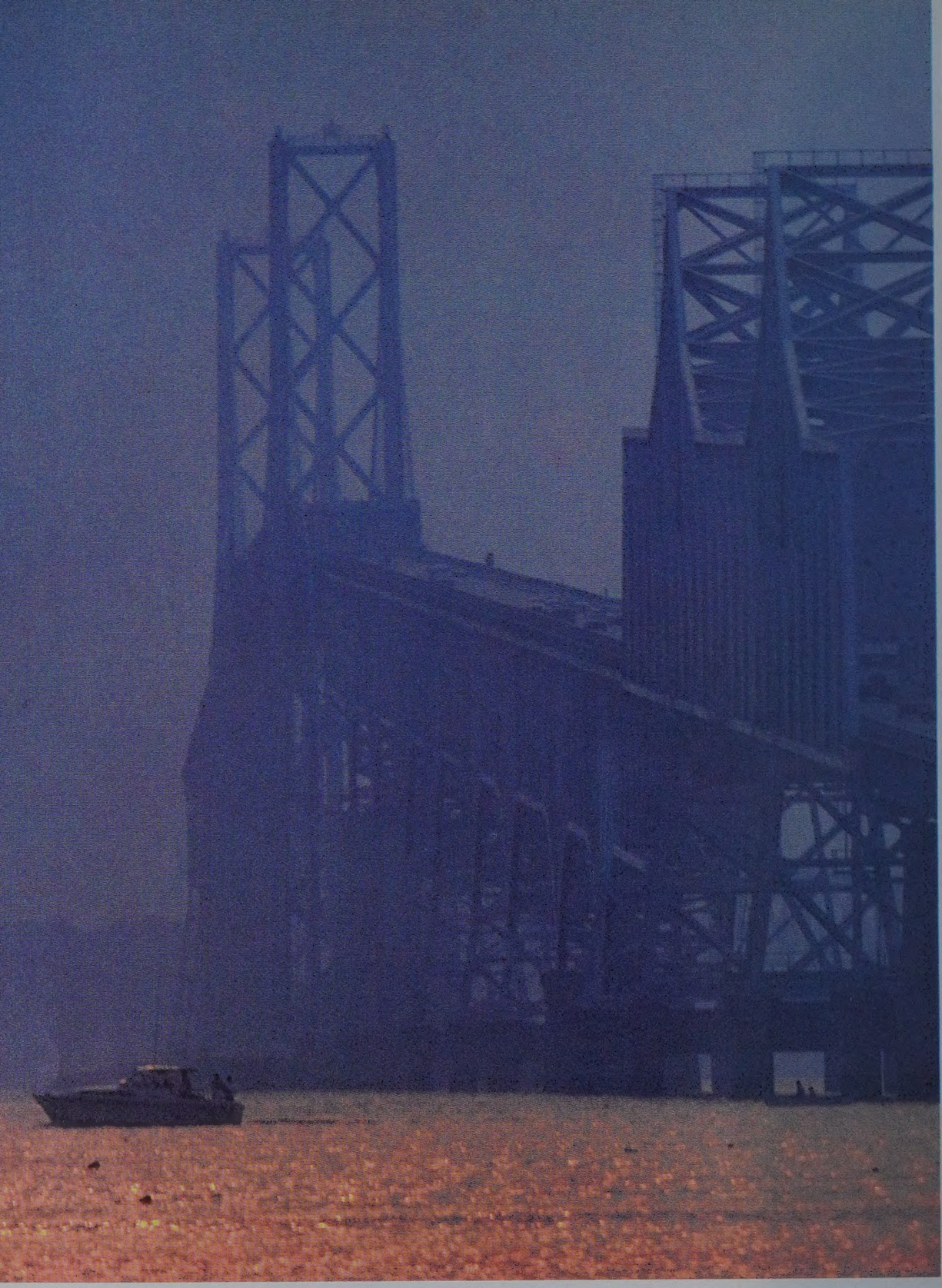
Plans for a $1,400,000 library building seemed too ambitious for the school. A federal grant of $388,500 was available—but only if the college raised $400,000. As the deadline approached, some $111,000 was still lacking.

This sad news unleashed the whirlwind force of virtually the entire student body. Some students returned to hometowns—one young man even flying to Canada—to seek donations. Others sought odd jobs nearby.

The movement was infectious. Four students received $500 for cleaning a chicken house. Three others made $1,000 by chopping a family's winter wood supply. One group waxed a car and received a $200 donation.

In only two days, student power had earned $54,000.

Now students scoured the valley for antiques and bric-a-brac to be auctioned. They



Great escape from the city *for Baltimore and Washington weekenders, the 4.4-mile twin spans of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge have also changed forever life*

on the Eastern Shore—increasingly a country retreat for the well-to-do. A short drive east, seaside communities like Ocean City, Maryland, are now booming resorts.


SPECIAL
CRAB MEAT
MEAT

FOR MOST of my life I have lived near or on the Chesapeake Bay, largest estuary on the East Coast, a place of surpassing beauty and, to the eye at least, remarkably unspoiled despite ecological problems. We who are privileged to dwell there, even in the cities on its shores, feel the Chesapeake imparts something special to our lives. At our doorstep we savor tranquillity and changelessness. Walking, sailing, touring, we enter a more gracious past, return to the founding years. Fish and crab are still there to be taken, osprey and eagle still there to watch, and when autumn turns the shores into gantlets of flame for our boats to run, we welcome the beloved invaders, the more than 800,000 waterfowl that winter on the Chesapeake each year.

No wonder our hearts remain attached to that water world with the tenaciousness of its barnacles. We pride ourselves on a world that has always evoked superlatives, beginning with the first white men known to have seen it, Spanish explorers who described it as the "best and largest port in the world" and reverently called it the "Bay of the Mother of God."

Here our nation was cradled, beginning with the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown in 1607. Capt. John Smith, who explored and mapped the Chesapeake the following year, outdid the Spaniards in encomiums when he published in 1612 his "Description" of the land he found after entering through Capes Charles and Henry:

"Within is a country that may haue the prerogatiue over the most pleasant places of *Europe, Asia, Africa,* or *America,* for large and pleasant navigable rivers: heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation. . . ."

Smith's map, published in the same year as his "Description," used the spelling "Chesapeack," derived from an Indian word meaning "great shellfish bay." But those of us who live there today usually refer to it simply as "the Bay," as if there were no other, and we always capitalize it, just as Smith did.

Let's face it, Smith was one of the nation's first real estate publicists. But in size alone the Chesapeake impresses. It extends nearly 200 miles, with a width varying from four to thirty miles. Some 150 rivers, creeks, and branches empty into it, forming a filigreed maze of land and water, particularly on the Eastern Shore, that one could spend most of a lifetime exploring by boat without ever going back to the same cove or cranny. The tidal shoreline totals more than 8,000 miles (map, pages 439-41).

You people of Maine, you Californians and Oregonians, you who know the fjords of Norway or the steep-sided isles of the Mediterranean will look in vain for craggy shores and stark silhouettes on the Chesapeake. This is gentle, low-lying country, a timeless meeting place of woodland, field, and water with long vistas of solitude on the reaches of broad tidal rivers. We who love it do not miss the overstatement of crag and rock; this low country permits a big sky, lots of room for clouds and stars and wind.

Many boatmen call the Chesapeake the finest cruising grounds in the world, and it has been my fortunate lot to poke a bowsprit into nearly all its tidal rivers and scores of its creeks. Years ago I took my ketch into a large but virtually landlocked cove in the heart of Maryland's Eastern Shore, etched its lovely waters in memory, and later built a home on one of its peninsulas. There I watch the infinitely varied progression of Chesapeake seasons:

Spring—White blossoms of wild plum and shadbush rime shores where so recently snow has lain. Ospreys take sentinel positions in the dead tree near my dock, where muskrats cut furrows in still waters.

Summer—Heat blankets woodland and water, but in the afternoon black thunderheads mushroom swiftly in the western sky; sometimes *(Continued on page 446)*

Ready for fancy finger work, *Helen Taylor receives a heap of Chesapeake blue crabs at the annual crab-picking contest in Crisfield, Maryland. The record: 79 ounces picked and packed in 15 minutes in 1975. Though yields of shellfish and finfish have declined dramatically, leading to intensive new scientific studies, the nutrient-rich Bay remains the "immense protein factory" described by Baltimore journalist Henry L. Mencken.*

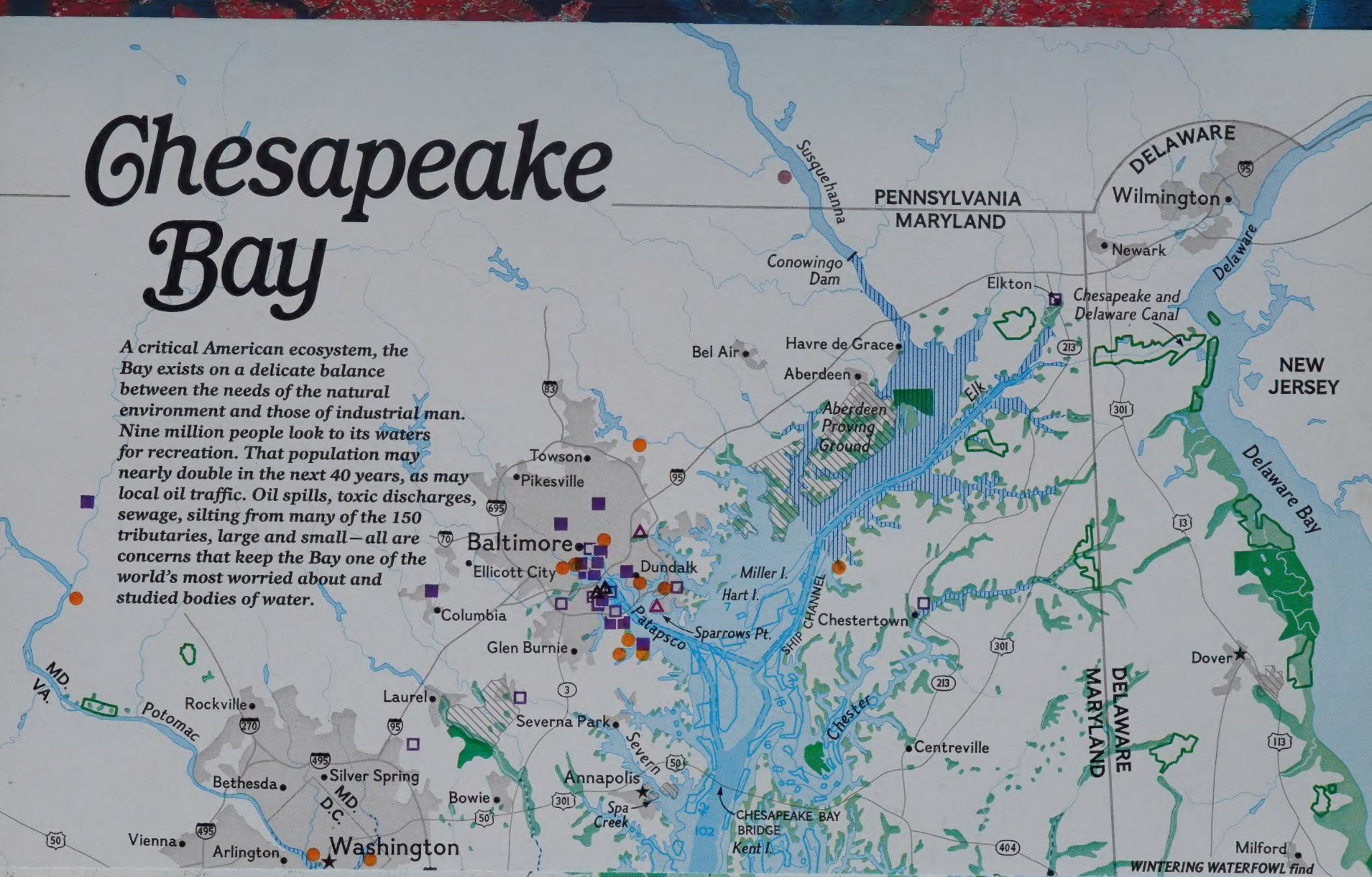
Handsomely into the wind, *log canoes get off to a smart start on a weekend race out of St. Michaels, Maryland* ***(above)****. A vanishing species, unique to the Bay, these onetime fishermen's craft owe their survival to a few sailors who revel in the challenges of handling them. Though crew members balance on springboards* ***(right)*** *to keep the canoes on even keel, the tall-masted, narrow-beamed vessels are easily overturned in gusty winds* ***(facing page)****.*

On the East Coast, only Long Island Sound exceeds the Bay in number of pleasure craft. But no place, say many seasoned sailors, tops the Chesapeake for cruising.

With a multitude of tidewaters reaching inland, the Bay was a magnet for early American settlers and soon became one of North America's leading shipbuilding centers. Many were the schooners from her shipyards that, like the Baltimore clippers, earned fame by slave running, smuggling, and other pursuits joining "deviltry and speed."

Chesapeake Bay

A critical American ecosystem, the Bay exists on a delicate balance between the needs of the natural environment and those of industrial man. Nine million people look to its waters for recreation. That population may nearly double in the next 40 years, as may local oil traffic. Oil spills, toxic discharges, sewage, silting from many of the 150 tributaries, large and small—all are concerns that keep the Bay one of the world's most worried about and studied bodies of water.



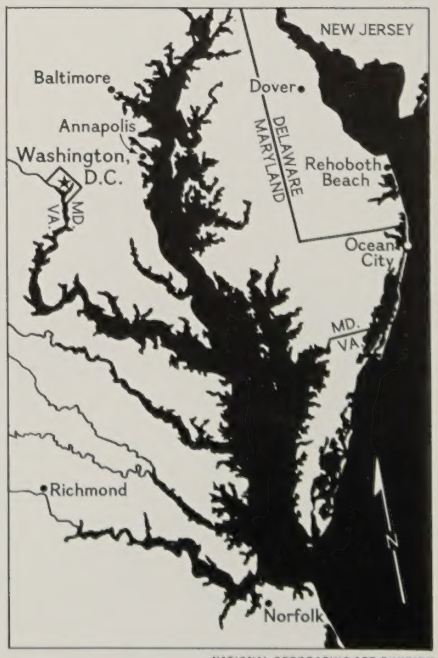
EARTH SATELLITE CORPORATION ENHANCEMENT AND MOSAIC FROM LANDSAT DATA

Infrared portrait of a great estuary

AS IF SMILING for a celestial photographer, the Bay lay revealed on two remarkably cloud-free days in October 1972, as an earth-resources satellite traversed 570 miles overhead. From its remote sensors comes a mosaic of four skillfully blended images. The geographer's bonanza bares not only countless physical details, but also the dynamics of an ecosystem.

In the false-color image, vegetation appears as various shades of red. Thousands of patches of light blue are the freshly harvested fields of October and give the Delmarva Peninsula a pale, mottled complexion. Larger concentrations of blue show the asphalt and rooftops of large urban areas. What resembles a fringe of mildew along the southwestern flank of Delmarva is actually incredibly fertile wetlands, haven for waterfowl and shellfish.

The effects of man's activities on Bay ecology are dramatically illustrated by the upper reaches of the Potomac, Rappahannock, and James Rivers, which, heavily sedimented after a day of driving rains, appear light blue. Cleared for agriculture and urban development, their watersheds are much more susceptible to erosion than is forested land. It is widely believed that heavy charges of silt, flushing into the Bay, tend to smother aquatic vegetation, thus disrupting the food chain. The situation might be eased, experts say, by planting bands of trees next to riverbanks.



NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC ART DIVISION

Chesapeake Bay

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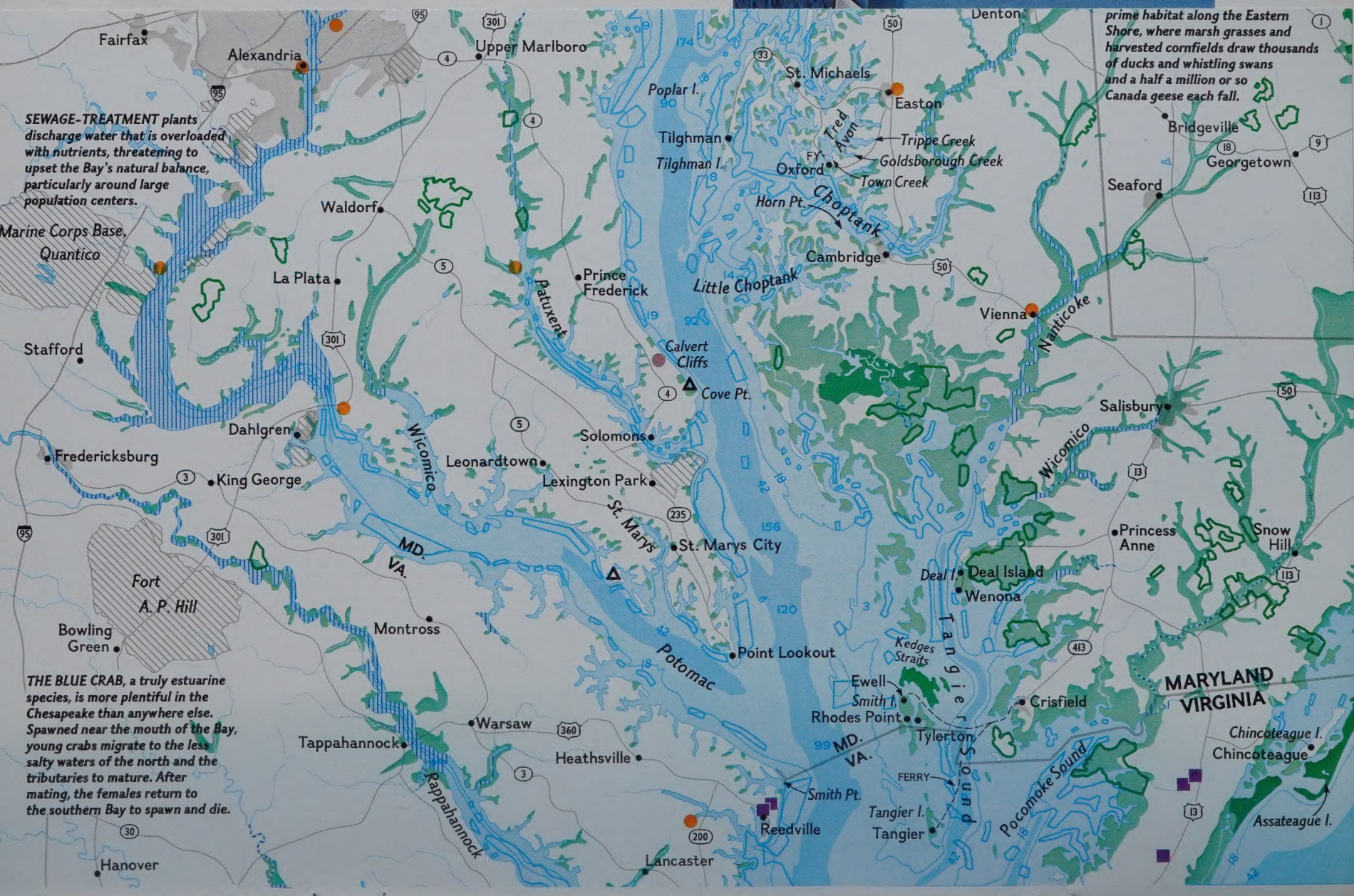
SEWAGE-TREATMENT plants discharge water that is overloaded with nutrients, threatening to upset the Bay's natural balance, particularly around large population centers.

THE BLUE CRAB, a truly estuarine species, is more plentiful in the Chesapeake than anywhere else. Spawned near the mouth of the Bay, young crabs migrate to the less salty waters of the north and the tributaries to mature. After mating, the females return to the southern Bay to spawn and die.

WINTERING WATERFOWL find prime habitat along the Eastern Shore, where marsh grasses and harvested cornfields draw thousands of ducks and whistling swans and a half a million or so Canada geese each fall.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Fairfax
Alexandria
Upper Marlboro
Denton
St. Michaels
Easton
Poplar I.
Tilghman
Tilghman I.
Tred Avon
Trippe Creek
Goldsborough Creek
Town Creek
Oxford
FY
Horn Pt.
Choptank
Cambridge
Little Choptank
Bridgeville
Georgetown
Seaford
Marine Corps Base, Quantico
Waldorf
La Plata
Prince Frederick
Patuxent
Vienna
Nanticoke
Stafford
Calvert Cliffs
Cove Pt.
Salisbury
Dahlgren
Solomons
Fredericksburg
King George
Leonardtown
Lexington Park
Wicomico
St. Marys
St. Marys City
MD.
VA.
Princess Anne
Snow Hill
Deal I.
Deal Island
Wenona
Fort A. P. Hill
Bowling Green
Montross
Point Lookout
Potomac
Kedges Straits
Tangier Sound
Ewell
Smith I.
Rhodes Point
Crisfield
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
Warsaw
Tappahannock
Heathsville
Tylerton
Chincoteague I.
Chincoteague
Rappahannock
Smith Pt.
FERRY
Tangier I.
Tangier
Pocomoke Sound
Reedville
Assateague I.
Hanover
Lancaster

***SHIPPING CENTERS** for the mid-Atlantic states, Norfolk and Baltimore handle between them some 8,000 ships a year. To remain competitive with its southern rival, Baltimore proposes deepening its harbor channel from 42 to 50 feet.*

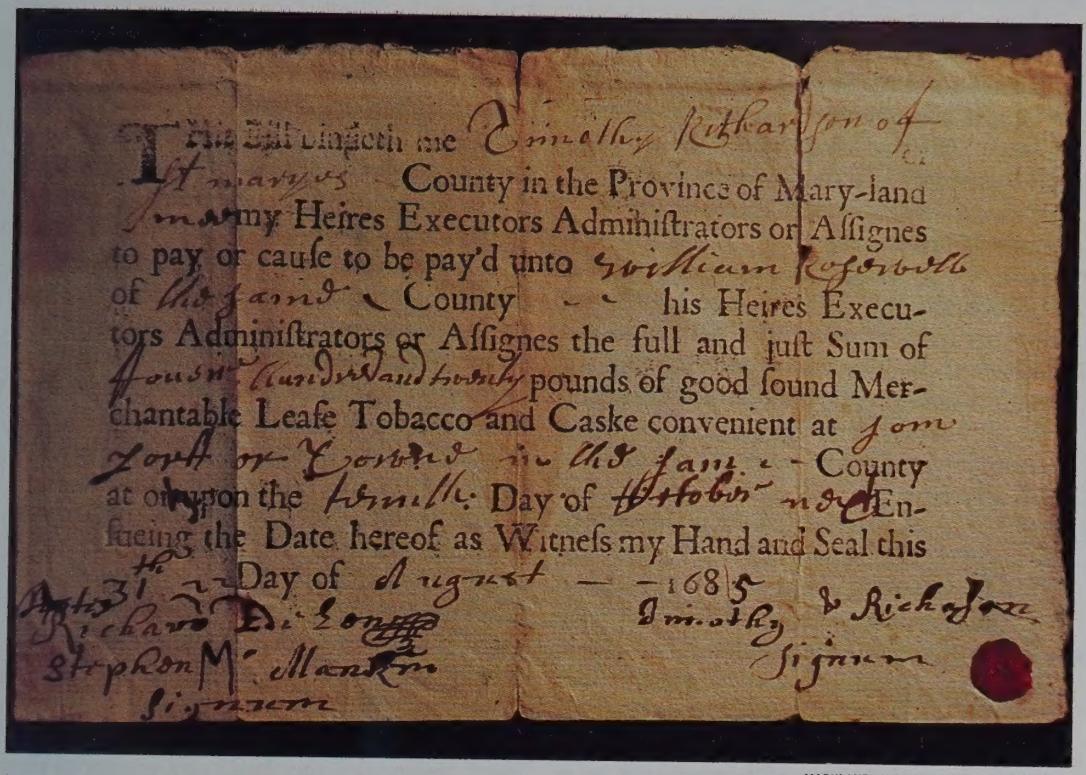
***ATLANTIC INTRACOASTAL WATERWAY** enters the Bay at the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in the north and the Elizabeth River in the south.*

Visitors from the north, hundreds of thousands of Canada geese,

like these at Oxford, Maryland, winter in the Bay's tidewaters.

"Merchantable Leafe Tobacco," *like that promised in a 17th-century note* ***(below)****, long kept colonial purses fat and European smokers happy. Though diminished in importance, it is still a major crop along the Bay's western shore, where young Richard Lee Burch* ***(left)*** *impales stalks on a stick for curing in the family barns.*

A tiny flaw in a block of type ***(bottom right)*** *identifies it as the "M" in the 1685 document. Thought to be the oldest found in this country, the type was discovered at an archaeological site* ***(bottom)*** *in old St. Marys City—Maryland's first capital.*



This Bill obligeth me Timothy Richardson of St Marys County in the Province of Mary-land my Heires Executors Administrators or Assignes to pay or cause to be pay'd unto William Rogerson of this land County his Heires Executors Administrators or Assignes the full and just Sum of four hundred and twenty pounds of good sound Merchantable Leafe Tobacco and Caske convenient at Jam Town or Towne in this land County at or upon the twelth Day of October next Enfueing the Date hereof as Witness my Hand and Seal this 31th Day of August 1685

Richard Dixon
Stephen M'Mankin
Signum

Timothy Richardson
Signum

MARYLAND HALL OF RECORDS, ANNAPOLIS

(Continued from page 431) they miss us, often they hit violently but run away. With suicidal impulse, crabs seek out my pots, and at dusk cruising sailors ghost their boats into my sheltered cove, there to dream away the languorous nights.

Autumn—Leaves of sumac, sweet gum, and dogwood flare redly in the woodlands; our huge oaks turn yellow. Then, on a crisp October morn, my wife and I hear what we have been waiting for, the *ronk-aronk-ronk* of Canada geese riding a north wind to winter haven on the Chesapeake. Soon hundreds overnight in our cove, with ducks and whistling swans, and at times their communal calls keep us awake.

Winter—In the night sleet comes with a soft sibilance; it changes to snow. Within days gray ice seals the entire cove, and we feed corn to hungry waterfowl that cannot forage. Finches, chickadees, and titmice flutter about our feeders, vying for position, and vultures perch like ominous specters in the dead tree.

MANY PEOPLE live like that on the Chesapeake and its tributaries. But—there's trouble brewing in our demi-Eden.

This huge estuary is a very complicated ecological system. Into it the rivers pour fresh water, and into it the tides push the salty waters of the sea. They mingle in a 2,500-square-mile mixing bowl, with salinities varying from near zero at the mouth of the Susquehanna, in the Bay's north, to 30 parts per thousand, almost that of the ocean, where the Bay joins the Atlantic.

Here live myriad creatures that prefer little salinity, others that like more, some that are casual visitors, others that reproduce here but wander elsewhere, and still others that spend their entire lives in, on, or beside the Bay. In all, some 2,700 species inhabit it.

It is an amazingly resilient environment. Nearly all its water dwellers tolerate some fluctuation in salinity, and many show remarkable adaptability when drought cuts the freshwater input or storms and spring freshets multiply it. Basically the fresh water flows south in the Bay's upper layers, and the saltier water flows north, or up the Bay, in the lower layers. Tides, winds, and seasons complicate these currents, but among the final results is a flushing and cleansing exchange between estuary and ocean.

That cleanout keeps the body of the Chesapeake healthy, but not necessarily its many arms. Today the Bay is like a lovely, vigorous woman showing early signs of serious malaise.

Almost no sturgeon now are caught in my Chesapeake. Two fish that once spawned there in astronomical numbers, the shad and striped bass, have declined severely. The 1979 shad catch yielded only $236,955, and the stripers, locally known as rockfish, have not reproduced well since 1970. Oyster spat, or young, have not been surviving as they should, and the crab, though a hardy critter with normal ups and downs in population, is not there in the abundance of yore. Aquatic grasses, sources of food and cover for some species, have been dying.

Even so, in recent years the annual catch of shellfish and finfish has averaged more than 500 million pounds. The Chesapeake is still a very fecund place.

"The whole system is fairly healthy, and the open Chesapeake in particular is in good health," says Dr. L. Eugene Cronin, who heads the Chesapeake Research Consortium. "But many of the tributaries have troublesome problems, and there are indications of larger problems in the future."

Dr. Walter R. Taylor, acting director of the Chesapeake Bay Institute, a part of the Johns Hopkins University, agrees. Of the problems in the tributaries, he says, "I can see where if they are not controlled they will spill out into the Bay. The Bay has a remarkable ability for recovery. But how near are we to the edge?"

That's not an easy question to answer. Many factors affect the tributaries, often interacting in complex ways that may change with temperature, salinity, season, weather, even time of day. The suspected culprits include sewage, nearly all of it treated now but still a massive source of chemicals, nutrients, and organic matter; pesticides and herbicides in runoff from farms; heavy metals, often toxic, from industrial and other discharges; sediment from soil erosion and organic solids; and nutrients such as nitrogen and phosphorus, from farm fertilizers, which stimulate algal blooms, mats of floating growth that decompose and take from

the water the dissolved oxygen that fish and other creatures need.

A good understanding of just what is happening, and why, to shad, rockfish, oysters, grasses, still eludes scientists. But there's no doubt about the fundamental cause of the Bay's malaise. Ask any of its watermen, that special breed of good ole boys with reddened faces, callused hands, and drawling, accented speech, the homespun traditionalists who wrest from an often hostile Chesapeake its seafood bounty. Ask my archetypical waterman friend, Edward "Epps" Abbott, 67, who since childhood has harvested waters near the lovely little Eastern Shore town of Oxford, Maryland.

"Who's to blame? Everybody who wants to know the villain should go look in their mirrors. The biggest harm to seafood is people," says Epps. "But as to just how all those discharges and runoffs do it, seems like nobody knows nuthin' yet. Me, I admit I don't. The more I'm on the water the less I claim to know about it. All I know is, if sumthin's out there I kin catch it."

As the little comic strip character Pogo said, "We have met the enemy, and he is us." Moreover, our pressures can only increase. "Environmentalists would like people to disappear," comments Dr. Taylor. "Well, they're not going to."

There are only two large metropolitan centers on the Chesapeake, Baltimore in the northern part and the Norfolk-Newport News-Portsmouth-Hampton complex in the southern. Both lie on the western shore, and the only sizable community between them is Annapolis. The Eastern Shore has only a few small cities, such as Easton, Cambridge, and Salisbury, and a wide scattering of quaint villages, the haunts of watermen, farmers, retirees, and cruising yachtsmen.

But the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers has made a study of pressures that can be expected between now and 2020. To ecologists these projections read like a horror story.

The region's population, now about nine million, will nearly double, as will land needed for residential purposes. Boating activity will increase fivefold. Bulk oil traffic throughout the Bay will double. Demand for electricity may go up as much as 13.5 times.

And what will happen to the bounty of the Chesapeake at present rates of harvesting? By the year 2000, maximum sustainable yields (the greatest harvests that can be taken without affecting subsequent yields) will be exceeded for blue crabs, spot, rockfish, white perch, shad, weakfish, flounder, and eel. By 2020, catches of oysters, soft-shell clams, menhaden, and alewives also will exceed maximum sustainable yields.

In money terms, oysters long have been the Chesapeake's most valuable resource, worth more than 20 million dollars in the 1978-79 season. Back in 1885 Maryland watermen harvested 15 million bushels of these prized shellfish, but the catch has been on a long decline ever since. In the 1978-79 season, the yield was only 2,197,409 bushels, although that still exceeds any other state. Virginia, which once outproduced Maryland, suffered a severe invasion of oyster disease organisms in the 1950s.

Many years ago virtually unrestrained harvesting reduced oyster beds, but both Maryland and Virginia have long practiced conservation. They limit catches on public beds, and they strew bottom areas with old oyster shells, which the young spat attach to and grow on. The states even dredge up many newly attached spat and dump them in other areas to mature.

Yet the rate of the spat's "set," or attachment to old shell, has not been good in most recent years. Dr. Peter E. Wagner, director of the University of Maryland's Center for Environmental and Estuarine Studies (CEES), explained the problem.

"If you look at pollution measured by coliform count, there has been sensational improvement in water quality because of higher standards for sewage processing," he said. "Formerly that kind of pollution closed down 37,000 acres of shellfish bottom in Maryland; now the figure is 6,200 acres. But if you look at oysters as a crop, you have to say the Bay's in trouble. It is not necessarily correlated to the health of the species or the cleanliness of the waters. We know that the oysters are fertile, but the number of spat per bushel of shell is way down. Why? There is no hard evidence as yet.

"Is what we are seeing something natural or cyclical? Is it pollution? Chlorine? Overfishing? Does something kill the spat? If we

have many more years such as we have been having, there won't be any oysters. We must bridge our ignorance, and we must propagate oysters and plant them in the Bay."

The oyster begins life as a free-swimming larval form, and when it attaches on the bottom, it's only about the size of a pinhead. But it changes quickly to a shelled organism and grows about an inch a year.

Oysters live in areas where the annual salinity averages from five parts per thousand all the way up to the salinity of the ocean. Briefly they can tolerate lower salinities. The Bay normally gets more than half its fresh water from the mighty Susquehanna, but for ten days during and after tropical storm Agnes in 1972 the river's flow averaged 15½ times greater than normal. Some two million bushels of marketable Chesapeake oysters were destroyed, and in some areas of the Bay the oysters were totally wiped out.

The same thing happened to soft-shell clams. Watermen call them "manoes," and on the Chesapeake they historically weren't thought worth eating. But in the 1950s the invention of a hydraulic dredge made large-scale clam harvest feasible, and a market in New England developed. Yet, inexplicably, in 1969 clams began dying in parts of the Potomac River and the Eastern Shore, and Agnes killed most of what remained.

Each year in early autumn, before the opening of the oyster-dredging season, the University of Maryland's CEES sends Dr. George Krantz and a team of colleagues out on the waters to sample oysters on 146 bars, or "rocks," to use the watermen's term. On the day I shipped aboard *Aquarius*, a 65-foot research vessel, we dredged up samples from the Choptank and its arms.

By law only sailboats can dredge oysters from public bars in Maryland waters. Today that means the old skipjacks, last of the nation's working sailboats (pages 464-5). But such restrictions do not apply to *Aquarius*, and at each bar her crew would lower a dredge, haul up oysters, and dump them on deck, where experts examined them for disease, size, and quality of meat.

Dr. Krantz said the Bay-wide trend for spat set had been down since 1968, and the last good year for a set in Maryland had been 1977. "These levels are just not adequate to sustain the oyster fishery," he said.

In the Tred Avon River at Oxford a weathered, graying waterman, Bobo Tennant, came aboard to show us a bar where he had found "bad" oysters. Bobo, like most oystermen, isn't a dredger; he's a tonger. From the gunwale of his boat he scoops oysters from the bottom with rakelike metal tongs on long wooden shafts. Watermen call this backbreaking labor "tungin'."

Aquarius dredged up a sample at the juncture of Oxford's Town Creek and the Tred Avon, and sure enough, after the oysters were shucked, their meat looked puffy, watery, and transparent, not firm and plump; they were unfit for market.

"Particulate matter has washed down here from Oxford's storm sewers and marinas on Town Creek," Dr. Krantz said. "This organic matter, settling in deeper water, has deprived the oysters of oxygen for most of the summer. The water begins to clear,

***"We eat the losers** to improve the breed," joked an official of Crisfield's 1979 Crab Derby. Here Number 137, a "jimmy," or male blue crab, leads in a slippery heat (**right**). In a more scholarly approach, Bob Miller of the University of Maryland inserts a tracking tag through a muscle, where it will not be lost during molts.*

however, after the first hard frost, so the oysters will recover and be in good health by Christmastime."

To Oxford's credit, its sewage-treatment plant has recently been improved and upgraded and is considered efficient.

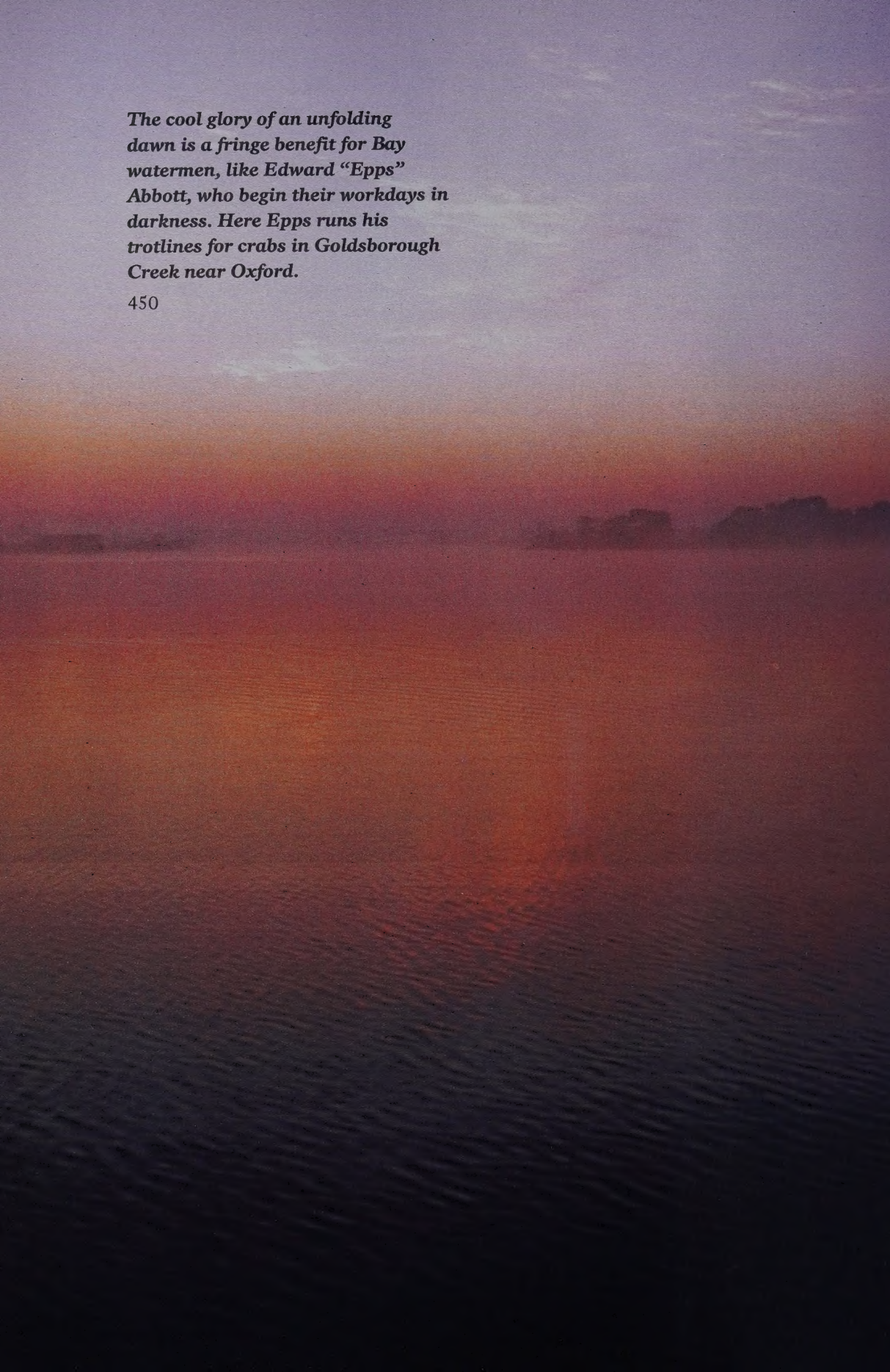
George Krantz operates an oyster hatchery at the CEES Horn Point Environmental Laboratories on the Choptank, and he has planted some 30 million spat experimentally. While they're no substitute for natural spawning and growth, he said, hatcheries could help during years of poor spat set and might even save the industry.

Young oysters have not been surviving in Virginia waters either. Dexter S. Haven, of the Virginia Institute of Marine Science (VIMS) at Gloucester Point, part of the College of William and Mary, told me scientists used to find 2,000 baby oysters on a bushel of shell in the lower James River; that declined to only 200 per bushel, although they noted some improvement last year. The sharp decline has also occurred in the York River and other Virginia tributaries.

Poor spat set has proved so puzzling that scientists, when asked about it, often reply with questions of their own. "Is it chlorine?" asked Mr. Haven. "The James gets much more treated sewage than it used to. About when this decline started, we were using more pesticides and herbicides. Are they responsible? I believe a combination of factors is putting oyster larvae in great stress."

A devastating oyster disease known simply as MSX, first noted in the Chesapeake in 1959, can't be blamed for spat mortality. MSX primarily affects adult oysters; moreover, it cannot exist in low salinity, so most Maryland waters have not suffered from it.

MSX is an organism affecting the cells of oysters. "We don't know how the disease is transmitted, and we can't culture it," said Dr. Frank O. Perkins of VIMS. "Is it a



The cool glory of an unfolding dawn is a fringe benefit for Bay watermen, like Edward "Epps" Abbott, who begin their workdays in darkness. Here Epps runs his trotlines for crabs in Goldsborough Creek near Oxford.

mutation, or was the organism introduced here? Is there an intermediate host bringing in the disease? We know it can be carried by water, but it could be by an organism in the water. If we could transmit the disease from one oyster to another, we might be getting somewhere, but so far we can't."

So the yield is down in all Virginia regions. Virginians, a proud lot, don't like to admit it, but to stay in business the state's oyster processors now buy about half the Maryland catch.

LIKE OYSTERS, the esteemed blue crabs begin life as free-swimming larvae. Something *Homo sapiens* does may be affecting them too; in recent years catches have been down, but the pugnacious crab is not in critical short supply like the oyster. Crab abundance always has been cyclical. Generally, commercial fishermen take them by crab pots; in Maryland tributaries trotlines must be used.

Catching crabs on lines is more interesting and challenging than emptying pots. My friend Epps Abbott is an expert, and I like to go out with him in Goldsborough Creek, where he's run trotlines for 22 years. "I come in here after my daddy died," he said. "I move the line about, but always in this creek from May to September. If you keep runnin' around, you're always where they ain't."

Goldsborough lies just downstream from my own Trippe Creek, and I thought I knew those waters well until out with Epps one black predawn morn in his 35-foot workboat. At times I wasn't sure where we were, but Epps steered as if it were high noon.

Still in complete darkness, Epps dropped overboard one end of a half-mile-long trotline, weighted with a window sash weight and marked with a floating plastic bottle. As the boat moved slowly ahead, he payed out line baited every four feet with pieces of eel that had been pickled in brine. At the end of the line, he dropped another sash weight and marker. Farther up Goldsborough, he put out a second "lay" or "set," this one baited with bull lips.

"Yep, you heard me right," Epps said. "Bull lips from a slaughterhouse. Good bait and a lot tougher 'n eel. The darn bull lips will last a week 'cause crabs can't chew 'em up as easy."

With daylight we went back to the first set. Epps lifted the line over a roller fitted on the gunwale, and we idled forward. At a regular, almost hypnotic pace, each bait rose from the depths, passed over the roller, and submerged behind us. Most pieces of eel had a crab clinging to them. Just before the crab broke water, Epps slipped a dip net under it if it looked legal size: five inches across the back shell. In these quick decisions he seemed almost unerring. Piles of squirming crabs mounted in bushel baskets.

That day he would catch only three and a half bushels; the prime crabs were bringing $20 a bushel at the dock, others only $8. "When I first started, you could sometimes catch eight, ten, twelve, maybe fourteen *barrels* of crabs, not just bushels," Epps commented. "Nowadays six, seven bushels, that's pretty good crabbin'."

After completing a run down one line, we both by tacit consent looked long and appreciatively at the newborn sun's golden effulgence on puffy clouds and mirroring water. "Nice time of day," said Epps. "It's pure out here, ain't it? A healthy life, and it's your own. You can do what the hell you want."

He made it sound like a prayer of thanksgiving, and I have heard other watermen speak that way. This nation has no prouder or more independent men. Maryland and Virginia together have some 18,000 full-time watermen; probably more than that work part-time on the water. There are still many veterans like Epps who neither know nor want any other life, and it still attracts sons from such old fishing communities as Tilghman, Smith, and Tangier Islands.

Like all his sturdy breed, Epps is an acute observer, full of untutored knowledge. As he crabbed, he reminisced.

"It's true you can't catch nary a crab up at the heads of some creeks where we used to get 'em real good, and the grasses been dyin' off everywhere. Some think it's chemical runoff from the farms doin' it. But you can't have farmers 'n' watermen fightin'. You need both of 'em.

"There used t' be piles of dead grass two feet high around many a shore, all natural die-off of thick growth. We used it to pack soft-shell crabs in. Now you kin walk miles around the shore and not see any.

"But the grasses come back in some creeks

last year. I remember growin' up we had seven-year cycles of grasses. Nature's been takin' care of things out there all these years. Guess you have to depend on cycles.

"An' when I was a boy, you knew that the first moon in May they'd be soft crabs sheddin' around the shore. Now you never see 'em until June. The cycle's different." Epps cocked his head at me and grinned. "Maybe those men walkin' around on the moon did somethin', tipped 'er sideways, 'cause now it seems all the seafood's over in Japan."

Watermen invariably comment on the loss of aquatic grasses. Dr. Peter Wagner told me that his CEES investigators believe whatever is inhibiting the grasses comes from the surrounding watershed, but the what and how of it remain unknown. Recently his Horn Point laboratories have been planting grasses in small artificial ponds lined with material from the Bay's bottom and filled with Bay water polluted in various ways. Eventually that approach may yield clues.

OF THE 200 SPECIES of finfish that frequent the Chesapeake Bay, the striped bass, or rockfish, has long been the most popular among both commercial and sport fishermen. It's a fighter, and it tastes delicious. It is even the official state fish of Maryland. When it fails to reproduce, everyone worries.

Perhaps 90 percent of the East Coast's striped bass spawn in the Chesapeake, though they wander in the Atlantic as far north as southern Canada. They are anadromous fish, meaning they go up the Bay's rivers to release their milt and roe in the less salty water. Before eggs evolve into juvenile fish, the species undergoes a normal mortality rate of 99.99 percent. It survives because of prodigious reproduction in "dominant years," when nature permits a larger than normal "class" to attain maturity.

But there hasn't been such a year since 1970. Again, the same questions are asked. Is it because of chlorine? Chemicals? Nutrients? Sediment? Many watermen suspect the latter. In the Potomac and Patuxent, for example, striped bass have been spawning farther and farther downstream, and increasing loads of sediment may be the reason. Every time a home is built on the Bay, four tons of sediment end up in the water.

So, like oysters, the stripers remain enigmatic. "Despite all the study that's been done, no one really knows why the trend is down," said William "Pete" Jensen of Maryland's Department of Natural Resources.

University of Maryland biologists believe they've uncovered a basic truth about dominant-year reproduction of rockfish. In late fall a hard freeze holds dead vegetation upstream in the rivers and creeks. A cold winter keeps it there. Then in spring a quick melt of snow and ice and heavy rainfall wash the vegetation downstream in volume. Zooplankton feed on it and multiply; young rockfish voraciously devour the zooplankton and thrive. Lo, a dominant year.

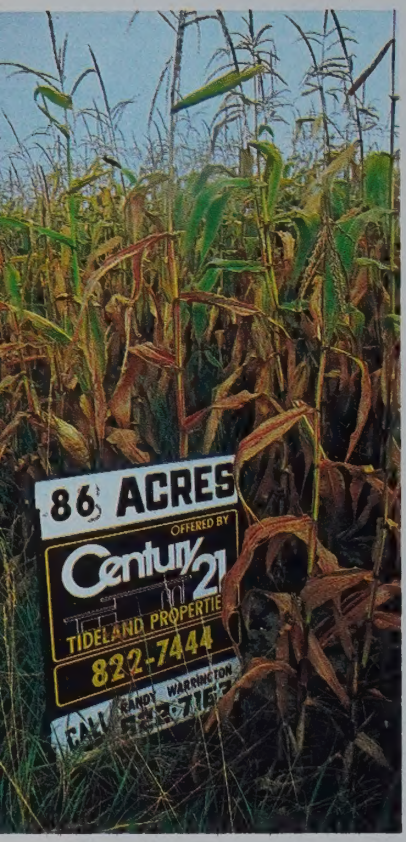
The theory, developed largely by Drs. Walter Boynton, Don Heinle, and Tibor Polgar, correlates well with weather records and successful years for rockfish juveniles.

The meat of the gourmet's delectable rockfish, and other fish as well, can have traces of arsenic, cadmium, copper, lead, and chromium, as well as a long list of chemicals and pesticides. Such trace amounts may not harm humans, but Dr. George Krantz, who breeds rockfish in addition to oysters, has found that these substances may kill the eggs or result in deformed offspring that do not survive.

American industry uses between 45,000 and 50,000 chemicals, with about a thousand new ones being introduced each year. Among them, an insecticide named Kepone has levied a heavy toll on the Bay. In 1975 it was discovered that Kepone was poisoning workers at a chemical plant in Hopewell, Virginia, on the James River. The chemical also had been dumped in the river, where it had gone undetected for eight years while spreading throughout the river's organisms and food chain. For a time the lower James, a particularly fecund place for oyster spat, had to be closed to all fishing, and some species still cannot be taken there.

Like most chemicals, Kepone has an affinity for bottom sediment. "It is not being flushed out very rapidly, and it degrades, or breaks down, extremely slowly," said Dr. Michael Bender of VIMS. "At the rate things are going, it may take a hundred years or so to cleanse the river."

Although Kepone isn't fatal to the James's



Time still hangs gracefully *over the Eastern Shore. Country estates, like this one* ***(right)*** *on a tributary of the Tred Avon River, hark back to when colonial Maryland was a region of far-flung tidewater plantations accessible only by creek or inlet.*

Although land here is expensive and a lure for investors, the main crops of corn and soybeans go literally for chicken feed. Once sold, this land ***(above)*** *will probably remain under cultivation, its harvests bought by area poultry growers.*

inhabitants, it invades them and it lingers. Dr. Bender told me that a fish, oyster, or crab for human consumption cannot have even one part per million of the chemical. Some creatures contain more than others, and nobody really understands why. It probably has to do with their habits. For example, the popular croaker, or hardhead, can have too much Kepone in it, and so can the largemouth bass; yet shad, catfish, and oysters will not exceed the limit.

Bottom mud and sediment in all industrial harbors contain toxic chemicals, and Baltimore's fouling has been building up for more than 200 years. Both the state and city would like to deepen the channel of this big natural port from 42 feet to 50 feet, which would require dredging 120 million cubic yards of material.

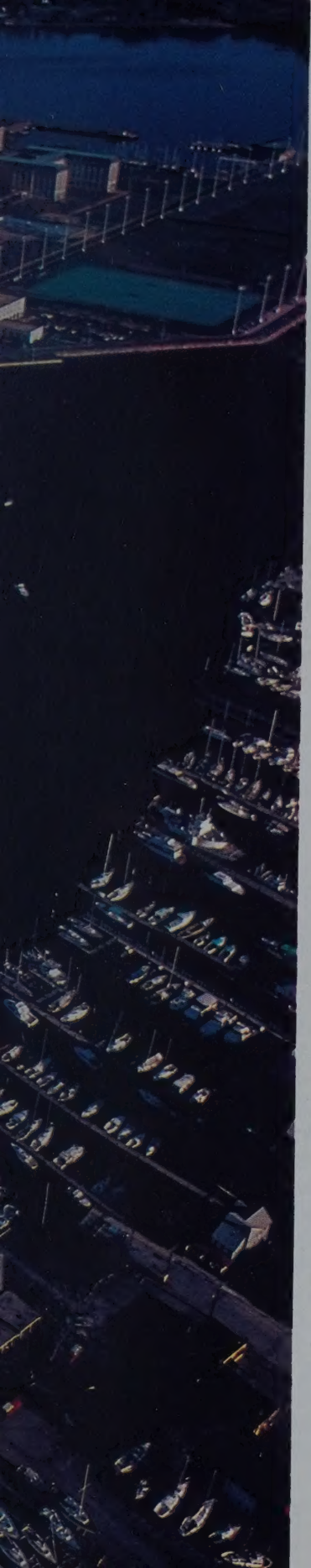
Where do you put such a huge amount of toxic spoil? Officials evolved a plan that includes using 52 million cubic yards to enlarge and join Hart and Miller Islands, two small, uninhabited islets on the open Bay just north of the harbor entrance. The spoil would be contained behind dikes.

This proposal triggered a controversy that has raged for several years. In favor: state and local agencies, the booster Greater Baltimore Committee and other business groups, and, significantly, that environmental watchdog, the Chesapeake Bay Foundation, never any patsy for the establishment. In opposition: powerful Congressman Clarence D. Long, in whose district Hart and Miller lie, aroused constituents, and many national environmental groups.

Recently fish and crabs have returned to parts of Baltimore harbor, and once again grasses have begun to grow. Water-quality controls are working, and industry's cleanup has been led by Bethlehem Steel, whose plant and shipyards form the harbor's largest complex.

Since 1950 Bethlehem has spent more than 90 million dollars on water-pollution control at its Baltimore operation alone, and

For a song, *the lucky Chesapeake scavenger might steal away with a bargain from one of the hundreds of area flea markets that deal in everything from trash to treasures.*



Steeped in colonial history, *Annapolis, capital of Maryland, is also the Chesapeake boat set's most popular port, as evidenced by crowded Spa Creek* ***(left)****, which gives way to the U. S. Naval Academy and the Severn River, in background. This year the academy graduated its first coed class. No mollycoddling allowed, women pull their own weight in sports* ***(above)*** *and military training. On liberty, middies admire a motionless live mannequin* ***(top)****, who exhibits discipline of a different stripe.*

some 65 million dollars to clean up smoke and gases from stacks.

Bethlehem has an arrangement with the city that is unique in the world. Each day the steel plant pipes some 100 million gallons of treated water from Baltimore's nearby sewage plant and uses it in industrial processes. Then Bethlehem cleanses the water to Environmental Protection Agency standards and releases it into the harbor. In return the steelmakers give the Baltimore and Washington, D. C., sewage systems their "pickle liquor," an iron-rich waste byproduct of steelmaking ideal for removing phosphorus from sewage.

AT THE OTHER END of the Bay, in the Norfolk-Newport News-Portsmouth-Hampton complex, another environmental donnybrook has been going on for five years. This involves a proposed 850-million-dollar oil refinery on the Elizabeth River, very near the lower James and its oyster beds but in a heavily industrialized area.

The effect of some chemicals on water quality may be debatable, but about oil there's no doubt: It's sheer poison. A major spill of 250,000 gallons of fuel oil off Smith Point in 1976 coated beaches and wetlands on both sides of the Bay. Biologists counted 10,000 dead waterfowl, and estimate as many as 50,000 birds may have perished.

Hampton Roads Energy Company seeks to build the refinery, which would produce 175,000 barrels of fuel a day. Robert E. Porterfield, vice president of the company, told me the East Coast needs ten refineries of that size. He said there already are 18 commercial oil-handling facilities within a ten-mile radius of the proposed plant, including a naval fuel depot next door.

The company has met all the complex requirements of state, federal, and local law, yet has not been able to turn a shovelful of dirt because of lawsuits brought by environmentalists.

"They wanted the regulatory agencies, they wanted the laws, but when all conditions have been met and the agencies have completed the permitting process, they still object," said Mr. Porterfield bitterly.

An opponent of the new refinery, Dr. J. Parker Cross, Jr., sounded equally bitter. "I don't think it'll ever be built," he said flatly. Dr. Cross, a physician, heads the Committee Against Refinery Effects (CARE). He said the area already had a high death rate from pollution-linked diseases, and he added, "Counties in the United States that have refineries have a higher incidence of cancer of the throat, trachea, and lungs." Several local medical societies have passed resolutions supporting CARE. The danger to the Bay's marine fisheries, Dr. Cross felt, was only too obvious.

On a tour of the harbor by boat, photographer Lowell Georgia and I passed the nation's largest floating dry dock. It held the *El Paso Southern,* a 948-foot tanker for liquefied natural gas. This giant thermos bottle and eight others transport LNG from Algeria to a terminal at Cove Point, midway up the Chesapeake's western shore. They unload at a huge pier a mile offshore, and pumps force the liquid through an underwater pipeline to storage tanks on land. After re-gasification the fuel passes into a transmission system serving seven states.

Environmentalists demanded and got the underwater pipeline. The two gas companies building the terminal wanted the line atop an overwater trestle. The companies also agreed to establish a buffer greenbelt around the plant.

LNG has a good safety record. In liquefied form it will neither burn nor explode, although it's capable of both if it leaks and vaporizes. The plant had an explosion and fire in 1979 that killed one man and injured another, delayed ship schedules, and closed down normal operations for two weeks.

At Calvert Cliffs, only a few miles up the Bay from the gas terminal, Baltimore Gas & Electric Company has a nuclear power plant with a 1.6-million-kilowatt capacity. First on the scene, BG&E was concerned about the proposed gas terminal's proximity, feeling that an explosion there would be a threat to the stability of the reactor. After reviewing the plans, government authorities permitted construction of the LNG plant.

Ironically, the nuclear plant has had three leaks of radioactive gas in 1980, so presumably the two giants now eye one another with equal wariness.

Three Mile Island, site of the notorious Pennsylvania nuclear power plant that last

year suffered a serious reactor accident, is not on the Chesapeake, but it does lie on the Susquehanna. Ever since that incident, when the reactor overheated, releasing radioactive gas and flooding a building with radioactive water, scientists have been concerned with the possibility that some contaminated water might reach the Bay. None has been detected so far.

ECOLOGICAL PROBLEMS, even personal problems, invariably are forgotten when I sail the Chesapeake. I adopt an old Bohemian proverb: "Don't worry, just wonder." My Chesapeake is still so very lovely, with so little visible sign of malaise, that I become intent on clouds and wind, leaping fish and crying gulls, the scend of waves and the set of a sail.

Lowell Georgia, a resident of Colorado, had little experience with the Bay until his assignment to illustrate this article, and I wanted him to know the wonder I had long enjoyed. So we chartered my old love, *Andromeda,* a roomy 43-foot Gulfstar motor sailer that I once owned. With her for an October cruise came her present owner and skipper, Brian Noble.

Our first night out we tied up in the Patuxent River, and early the next morning set a course for isolated Smith Island, one of the last strongholds of Chesapeake watermen and the old way of life (following pages). The wind blew lightly but with a raw edge, and a solid overcast hid sun and sky. Those notorious summer squalls can be seen before they hit, but other winds are more treacherous, blowing briskly and exhilaratingly for a time, then without warning increasing in violence.

That's just what happened. Wind speed jumped to 35 knots, at times 40. We ran before it, surfing atop nine- and ten-foot waves; better that, we felt, than coming about and fighting to lower our big mainsail, which can't be reefed and had foolishly been left aloft too long. Approaching Smith from the Bay proved much too risky because of the exposed, narrow channel entrance, so we slipped through Kedges Straits to the north of the island, hoping to use Smith's lee for shelter. The wind didn't even know low-lying Smith was in its way, but wave action was reduced, and down came the main after a hard battle.

Smith, in Maryland, is really a tight cluster of islands, with three tiny towns: Ewell, Tylerton, and Rhodes Point. A maze of channels through marshes connects the islands, and one channel bears the improbable name Big Thorofare. Just to the south lies smaller Tangier Island, almost identical in its way of life but historically a rival because it lies in Virginia waters.

For 300 years no one but watermen have occupied these lonely islands; the most common family names, all of English descent, are the same as in colonial times: Tyler, Evans, Bradshaw, and Marshall on Smith, and Pruitt, Crockett, Parks, and Dize on Tangier. Nearly all male residents follow the water; they want no other way of life, and indeed there is no other business.

In Tylerton, amidst shanties for packing soft-shell crabs, we eased into the dock of the Chesapeake Bay Foundation. At Smith and three other places on the Bay, CBF maintains educational centers where students can obtain practical knowledge of the Chesapeake. Despite the foul weather, center manager Bill Goldsborough had 17 high-school students from Pikesville, near Baltimore, out in a marsh.

"Use all your senses, as a naturalist would," said Bill, and he had the youngsters listen for sounds, taste marsh plants, even crawl about looking for mud snails, fiddler crabs, and ribbed mussels.

I excused myself from these chill pursuits on the basis of my considerable seniority, and, while the wind blew with an unremitting malevolence that kept everyone ashore, I yarned with the natives, who proved friendly. They aren't, though, if you're a marine policeman or game warden, officers who regulate what they catch and shoot.

The late Stanley Marshall of Smith, a man who had the courage of his convictions, gave up crabbing and oystering to become warden of a wildlife refuge at the island's northern end. Many islanders considered him a turncoat and traitor, and one of his brothers refused to speak to him. For generations Smith watermen had considered that area their own, a place to hunt waterfowl at will, even with illegal "market guns," huge old blunderbusses mounted on

Remote and vulnerable, *the little town of Tylerton, Maryland, clings as stubbornly to the shore of Smith Island as it does to a vanishing way of life. Along with Tangier Island to the south, Smith is the last of the Bay's inhabited offshore islands. For 300 years the Bay has provided a living for the proud and independent watermen who dwell here.*

The Chesapeake—a drowned river valley still in the process of drowning—is exacting a heavy toll for its bounty. In the past century, hundreds of acres of the Smith Island cluster have been reclaimed by the water, and the rate of erosion is on the increase. The U. S. Army Corps of Engineers is studying possible ways of stabilizing the shoreline, but the prospects of holding back the forces of nature appear bleak.

Insulated from mainland influences, Smith Islanders, like those on Tangier, still speak a dialect echoing earlier times. In Ewell, another of the three towns that make up Smith's population of 560, watermen wait out a storm by playing dominoes in a local general store. When winds reach more than 30 knots, they wisely stay ashore, since the Bay's shallow waters are easily churned into life-threatening waves.

Champion oyster shucker, *Ruth Smith exults after winning the 1979 national title at the St. Marys County oyster festival. Most oystermen tong their catch of the Bay's most valuable seafood. Maryland law restricts dredging of public beds to sail-driven vessels like the few remaining skipjacks* (**right**).

the bows of boats and capable of killing a dozen birds at a time.

Paul Marshall, a retired waterman who now carves waterfowl from wood with remarkable artistry, confessed to me he was one of the last to use an outlaw gun. "I still have my daddy's gun and my granddaddy's," he said. "My daddy's weighs 113 pounds and is nine feet long; the other's even longer. We loaded 'em with anything from number two shot to buckshot, and we used a quarter pound of big grain powder in 'em."

In his cluttered little shop Paul carved as he talked, with work in varying degrees of completeness all about him and stuffed birds seeming to watch intently from shelves amid the shadows. "I never was able to kill more than 10 geese at one shot," Paul said, "and my granddaddy said he never killed more than 12 at once. I do know of 108 ducks being killed by three guns firing at about the same time. You'd sneak up on 'em while they rafted up on the water. Did the guns kick? I've knowed a gun to jump overboard, and even if it didn', it'd push the boat back a long ways."

TANGIER and Smith Islands both are threatened by gnawing, relentless erosion. Of Smith, Paul Marshall said, "The south shore and the west shore are hit pretty bad. As much as 50 feet a year washes away in some places, and ice just cuts it to pieces. So many little islands I used to hunt on are gone. Some marshes are washed out and become gravelly beaches, and bars have washed away and got deeper, and no grass will stick on 'em."

Tangier loses as much as 25 feet a year from its west shore, and erosion soon will cut into the airstrip, vitally needed by islanders in medical emergencies or when the Chesapeake is ice locked.

The two islands have asked the Corps of Engineers to try to do something to stabilize their shores. "If we don't stop the erosion now, 10 years from now we won't have an airport and 30 years from now we won't have an island," said Tangier's Mayor Robert J. Thorne.

That can be the fate of islands in the Bay. In his novel *Chesapeake,* James A. Michener writes of the gradual disappearance of fictional Devon Island in the Choptank River. He got the idea for his Devon from an island that did erode and vanish off the mouth of the Choptank. In colonial times Sharps Island was a rich plantation of 600 acres, but the last of it succumbed to tides and storms

Commerce is the lifeblood of Baltimore, and the Bay a vital artery.

within the memory of men still living.

You have only to fly over Poplar Island, just north of where Sharps used to be, to see the great striations of submerged sandbars built up of material torn away from Poplar. In just a few decades that island too probably will be gone.

Over a hundred-year period, Maryland has lost approximately 25,000 acres of Chesapeake shoreline to erosion, and Virginia has lost 20,000 acres. The Corps of Engineers says the Bay has 410 miles of shore with critical erosion problems.

My Chesapeake, unfortunately, is ephemeral. In the grand scheme of geologic time, perhaps 10,000 or 20,000 years from now, sediment from its rivers and shores and vanishing islands will fill it in, and it will be no more. Nothing man can do can arrest that fate.

Long before then, will my Chesapeake be a dead inland sea? Will we have poisoned it? I don't think so. Man is not the unthinking, insensitive despoiler he once was. A thousand years from now, I believe, shad and rockfish will seek out Chesapeake rivers to spawn, oyster spat will drift slowly down to the bottom through clean waters, foolish crabs will rise to the dip nets of watermen, ospreys will plunge into blue waters, and Canada geese will ride the north wind to a haven on my sheltered cove. □

Here, as elsewhere, the Chesapeake's health depends on man's goodwill.

The Kentucky Gazette 1789-1800 - Karen Mercer Green R929.3 G796 (MPL)

p162 - Samuel Griffith, 28 June 1796, living in Madison County at the mouth of Sugar Creek, found a horse.

p191 - Samuel Griffith, 9 May 1797, living in Madison County near the mouth of Sugar Creek, found a horse.

Ordered that John **Snoddy**, James **Dinwiddie**, Jesse **Clark** and Joseph **Kennedy** or any three inventory and appraise the estate of Thomas **Campbell** and return to court.

Ordered that John **Moore**, Peter **Evans**, Zachariah **Reed** and George **Marchel** or any three view a way for a road from Boonsborough to Jacks Creek beginning at Zachariah **Reids** to intersect the said road at Nathaniel **Rolls** and make report.

Ordered Andrew **Lackey**, Amos **Archcraft**, Thomas **Todd** and David **Chinalt** or any three view a way for a road from **Sappingtons** horse path where it crosses the Kentucky River to Archibald **Woods** new mill and make report.

On the motion of Richard **Johnston** he is discharged from the office of constable.

Ordered that James **Dinwiddie**, John **Hubbard**, James **Holman** and John **Moberly** or any three view a way for a road to be opened from the Mulberry Lick to Madison Courthouse and make report.

Ordered that Benjamin **Oacky** be permitted to keep ordinary at his dwelling house. He entered into bond with Green **Clay** as his security.

A deed from James **Kerr** and Drusilla his wife to Jacob **Miller** was acknowledged, femme relinquished and ordered recorded.

The Reverend Samuel **Griffith** produced credentials of his ordination with the Methodist Church whereupon he took the required oaths and is hereby authorized to celebrate the rights of matrimony.

Ordered that Thomas **Clay**, Peter **Evans**, John **Sappington** and David **Crews** be appointed to settle the accounts of the executors of James I. **Dozier**, deceased and make report.

On the motion of Henry **Pollard** he is permitted to keep ordinary at his dwelling house and with W. **Furthinglove** as his security entered into bond.

On the motion of Benjamin **Cooper** to have commissioners appointed to ascertain the improvement boundaries ans specialties of the entry of land and for perpetuating the same, it is ordered that a warrant be issued to Samuel **Estill**, William **Kavanaugh**, John **Harris** and James **Berry** appointing them commissioners to call in

such witnesses as the said Benjamin **Cooper** may think necessary to establish his improvement lying on the Kentucky River containing two hundred acres, entry made in the name of David **Gillispy**, and make report.

A deed from George **Brown** and Elizabeth his wife to John **Connelly** was proved by Zachariah **Dozier** and OC.

A deed from Humphrey **Arnold** to John **Hawkins** was acknowledged and ordered recorded.

A deed from Joseph **Williams** to Lynch **Brooks** was acknowledged and ordered recorded.

A deed from William **Hancock** and Mary his wife to John **Turner** was acknowledged, femme relinquished and ordered recorded.

A deed from William **Hancock** and Mary his wife to John H. **Prator** was acknowledged, femme relinquished and ordered recorded.

A deed from William **Hancock** and Mary his wife to Thomas **Hardrick** was acknowledged, femme relinquished and ordered recorded.

A power of attorney from Charles **Westerman** to John **Claford** was acknowledged and ordered recorded.

Ordered that David **Kincaid**, James **Dinwiddie**, Daniel **Maupin** and Robert **Rodes** or any three view a way for a road to be opened from David **Kincaid's** mill to intersect the road from Madison Courthouse in **Crews** Town and make report.

Ordered that it be certified to the auditor of Publick Accounts that proof was made that 1765 acres of land entered by Green **Clay** lies within Indian Bounds.

The sheriff of this county produced a list of the persons in this county which has removed, also the supenumeries by him collected, also a list of lands lying in other counties and also a list of persons entitled to credits from a mistake in the commissioner which being examined and allowed is ordered to be certifyed to the auditor of Publick Accounts.

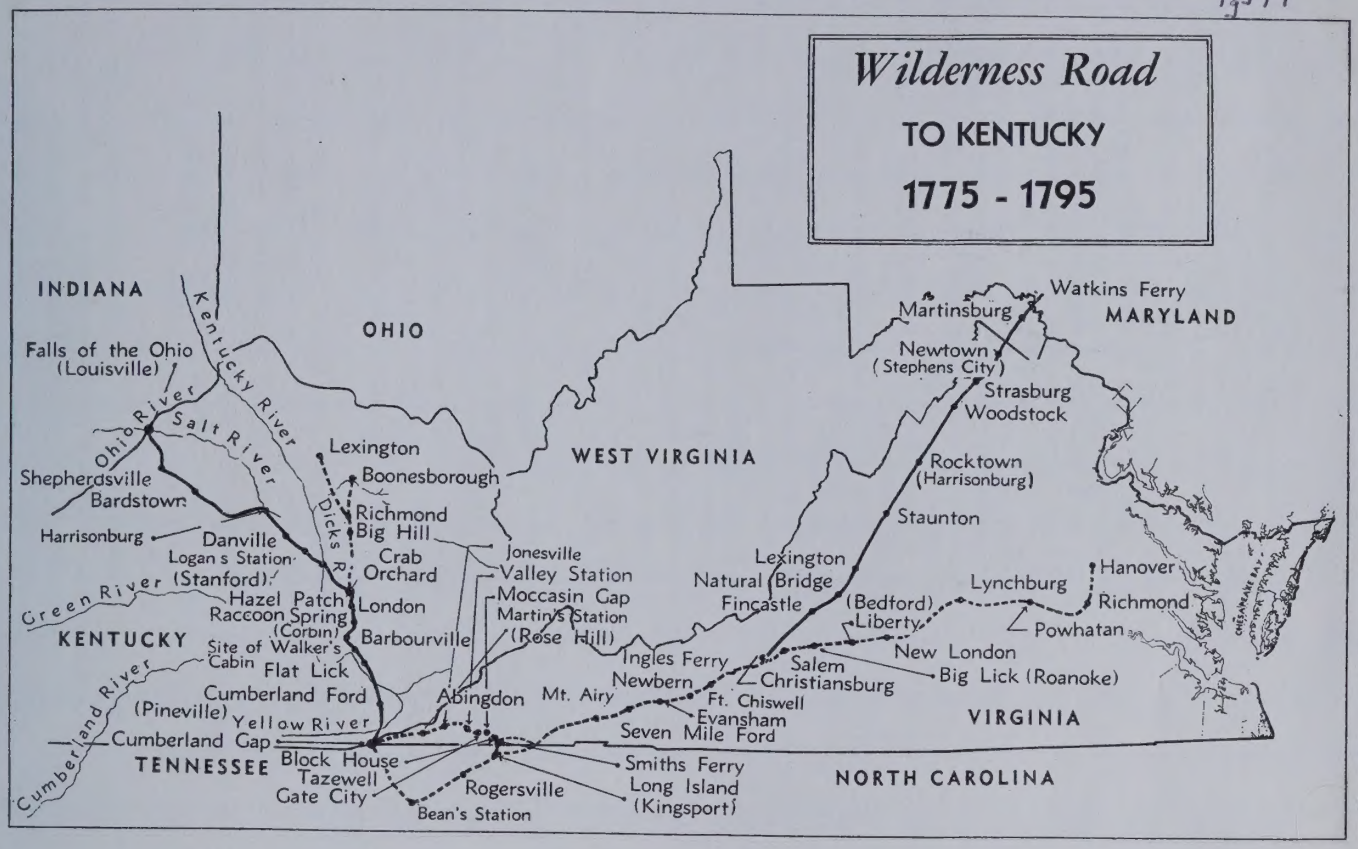
On the motion of Braxton **Cooper** it is ordered to be certified to the auditor of Publick Accounts that proof was made to the court

The Journal of Francis Asbury by Elmer T Clark (1927)

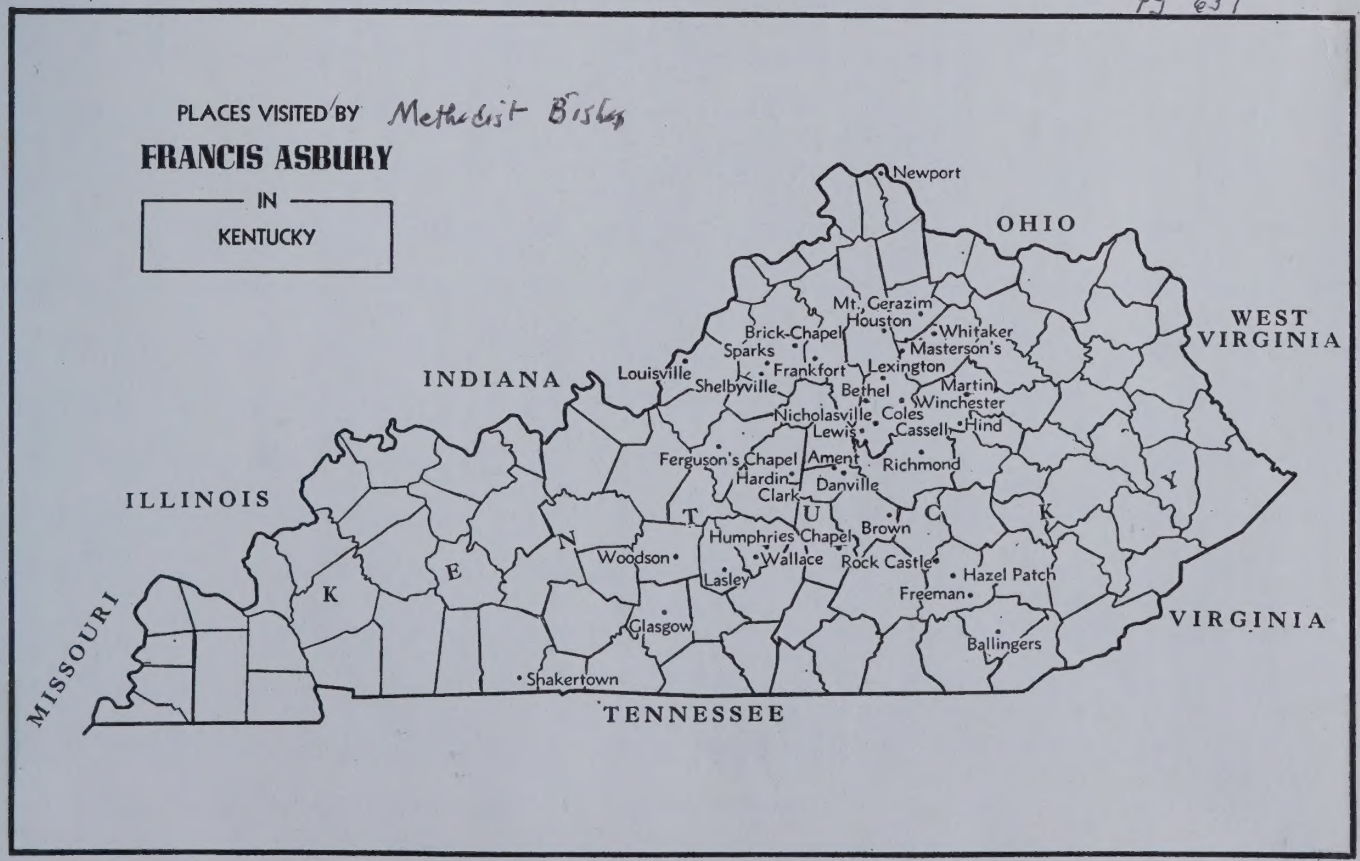
Object of Search: Rev Samuel Griffith ordained by 1796 – of Madison (Garrard) Co, Ky. When and where did he become a Methodist? This was quite easy for that. This also applies to Vestes and Clayton's slightly later in VA + TN.

Asbury was first Methodist Bishop in America. It appears that some of his followers got to Kentucky before he did.

Pg 379



Pg 637



but few hearers; and some of these made their escape when I began to insist on the necessity of holiness—a subject this which the Antinomians do not like to hear pressed too closely.

Tuesday, 15. I gave up my horse, and borrowed one of Mr. Randall.[9] I fear my horse will lose his eyes. I visited B——; one who has departed from God; he appeared to be sensible of, and lamented it; yet, he said, he had not power to pray and seek. (his first trip to SC)

South Carolina

Thursday, 17. We set off for Charleston, South Carolina. When at the Cheraw Hills,[10] we thought of going to ——'s, but he was not at home. A family which had moved from Virginia sent after me with an invitation to come and dine;[11] I accepted their kindness, and arriving, found that they had been Methodists: after spending some time in the church in prayer,[12] we prepared to pursue our journey, but being pressed to stay until the morrow, we remained with them. Came to the Long Bluff court house[13]—found few people: thence journeying on, we arrived at John Kimbro's,[14] and were kindly entertained. 1785

[9] John Randall lived in the present Stanley County, North Carolina, a few miles north of Norwood. Jesse Lee, traveling the Salisbury Circuit, preached in his home in 1784. "The man of the house was always deaf and dumb," said Lee, but "he is esteemed as a pious man." The community became a regular preaching place and Asbury stopped there on numerous occasions (February 15, 1785; April 3, 1789; December 20, 1793; November 16, 1798; February 23, 1800; December 8, 1804.) Services were first conducted in the Randall house and then in a brush arbor. A church was erected before 1800. Randall Church is now the oldest in Stanley County. (Grissom, *op. cit.*, 248.)

[10] The Cheraw District was one of the seven judicial districts into which South Carolina was divided in 1768 and included the present Marlboro, Chesterfield, Darlington, and parts of Florence and Lee Counties. Its name was derived from the Cheraw Indians. The town of Cheraw, or Cheraw Hill, was on the west side of the Great Pee Dee River. The name was for a brief period changed to Chatham in honor of the Earl of Chatham, but anti-British feeling engendered during the Revolution caused the old name of Cheraw to be retained when the town was incorporated in 1820–21. (See Gregg: *History of the Old Cheraws*; Bulletin of the First Methodist Church, Cheraw, S.C., 1953.) * Welsh Tract

[11] Their host at Cheraw was a merchant who had in his employ a young man from Massachusetts who described the low state of religion in his native state. This so impressed Jesse Lee that he resolved to go to New England. (Lee: *Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse Lee*, 150.) Lee became the virtual founder of Methodism in New England, preaching first under "the old elm" on Boston Common on July 11, 1790.

[12] St. David's Episcopal Church was built in 1770–73 and is still in use. There was a hiatus of thirty-four years, 1785–1819, when it was dormant because of anti-British feeling. (Bulletin of Saint David's Church, 1953.)

[13] Long Bluff Court House was on the west side of the Great Pee Dee River and was the first business center in the colony, founded around 1735 or 1740. It was ten or twelve miles south of Cheraw, about where Society Hill in Darlington County now stands. A lot had been purchased at Cheraw, but the location was changed in 1770 when a committee from the lower part of the district made an appeal to the General Assembly for a more nearly central site. (Williamson: "Historical Sketch" in *Bulletin of the University of South Carolina*, No. 196, February 1, 1927.)

[14] John Kimbrough went from Wake County, North Carolina, and settled in the central part of Darlington District south of Cheraw in 1756. (Gregg: *History of the Old Cheraws*, 90–91.)

[15] Miss Cora Page Godfrey suggests that this may have been Governor Tryon who was regarded as a tyrant.

[16] Asbury went southward through Darlington, the present Florence, Williamsburg, and Georgetown Counties to Georgetown on the coast. Lynch's Creek formed the boundary between Darlington and Williamsburg Counties (Florence County had not then been formed). Black Mingo Creek rises in the upper part of Williamsburg County and flows southeast into Black River near the northern border of Georgetown County. Black Mingo community was about four miles above the junction of the two streams and ten miles north of Andrews. It was an important rural travel and trading center which was later called Willtown. Black River flows through central Williamsburg County to the sea near Georgetown.

[17] Asbury's party first lodged at another house in Georgetown. As they were leaving for the meeting, their host excused himself to attend a ball, whereupon Jesse Lee prayed that another home might be opened to them. The prayer was answered by the approach of Wayne. (Lee: *Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse Lee*, 151.)

[18] The party doubtless crossed Santee River at Myzack's Ferry near Honey Hill and over the Cooper to Charleston.

Tuesday, 22. I heard of that impostor, T—y—t,[15] who was fleecing the people of one hundred guineas per annum: were he a good man, I doubt if they would supply him thus. The greatest consolation I had was whilst alone in the woods. I was comfortable in brother Jesse Lee's company.

Wednesday, 23. We crossed Lynch's Creek, Black Mingo, and Black River, and arrived at Georgetown,[16] where we met with a kind reception. I felt my mind solemn, and devoted to God, but was in great doubt of success. If God has not called us by his providence into these parts, I desire and pray that we may have no countenance from the people; although we have ridden four or five hundred miles, and spent our money.

Thursday, 24. I preached in Georgetown on 1 Cor. ii, 14, to a serious people. A Mr. William Wayne, a nephew of the celebrated General [Mad Anthony] Wayne, introduced himself to us,[17] with whom we took breakfast; on parting, he showed us the way to the ferry, and paid our ferriage. I found the Lord had brought him through deep exercises of soul. We travelled on through a barren country, in all respects, towards Charleston.[18] We came that evening to Scott's, where the people seemed to be merry; they soon became mute: we talked and prayed with them: in the morning, when we took our leave of them, they would receive nothing. We met brother Willis; he had gone along before us, and had made an acquaintance with Mr. Edgar Wells, a respectable merchant of the city, to whom he had carried letters of introduction, from Mr. Wayne, of Georgetown: I jogged on, dejected in spirit, and came to Mr. Edgar Wells's. We obtained

* See note pg 493. Baptist Griffiths lived on the Pee Dee. There were some "Griffins" (not Griffiths) just west of Lynches Creek in 1785/6 who soon left, including a James Griffin who went to GA 1787. Did he have a namesake who went to Kentucky in 1788? It does not appear to me that he converted our Griffiths this early.

the use of an old meeting house belonging to the General Baptists,[19] in which they had ceased to preach: brother Willis preached at noon—brother Jesse Lee morning and evening. I first went to the Episcopal Church,[20] and then to the Independent meeting-house:[21] at this last I heard a good discourse.

Monday, 28. The Calvinists, who are the only people in Charleston who appear to have any sense of religion, seem to be alarmed. Yesterday morning [*Sunday*], and again at noon, the congregations were small; at night we were crowded. There is a great dearth of religion here; some say, never more so than at this time.

The people were a little moved while brother Lee preached to them on *Sabbath* evening. My first sermon was on *Wednesday*, the second of *March*, on 2 Cor. v, 20. I had but little enlargement. I preached again the next day on Eccles. xi, 9; the people were solemn and attentive. I find there are here who oppose us—I leave the Lord to look to his own cause. I told my hearers that I expected to stay in the city but seven days; that I should preach every night, if they would favour me with their company, and that I should speak on subjects of primary importance to their souls, and explain the essential doctrines taught and held by the Methodists.

Friday, March 4. I gave them a discourse on the nature of conviction for sin, from John xvi, 8; many serious people attended, and some appeared to feel.

Saturday, 5. I spoke on the nature and necessity of repentance. The —— ministers, who had before this held meeting at the same hour with us, and had represented our principles in an unfavourable light, and striven to prepossess the people's minds against our doctrines—even these ministers came to hear. This afternoon Mr. Wells began to feel conviction; my soul praised the Lord for this fruit of our labours—this answer to our prayers.

[19] Chreitzberg (*Early Methodism in the Carolinas*, 41–43) says this was the old Seaman's Bethel in which Joseph Pilmoor twelve years earlier preached the first Methodist sermon in Charleston, but this is refuted by the old Baptist records. The Calvinistic or Particular Baptists organized first. Then the Arminian or General Baptists came in. Both used the same house until the former tried to oust the latter. The colonial courts gave equal rights to each group, and the Particular body bought the Seaman's Mission where Pilmoor preached. After the Revolution the General Baptists dwindled, and Asbury and his party used the original house which they abandoned. The Particular congregation later reclaimed the property, which was on the site of the present First Baptist Church. Asbury, Lee, and Willis used it during this visit to Charleston. The Methodists were later ejected, the seats were thrown into the streets, and the doors and windows barred. Mrs. Stoll, grandmother of Bishop William W. Wightman, then opened her home for Methodist worship until the services were moved to an unfinished house on Wentworth Street. (Betts: *History of South Carolina Methodism*, 481–82.)

[20] St. Phillip's Church.

[21] Circular Congregational Church, called the "White Meeting House." (Shipp: *History of Meothdism in South Carolina*, 164.)

Sunday, 6. I had but few hearers this morning; these few appeared to have feeling hearts: in the evening I preached to a large, wild company, on Acts xvii, 30, 31. My soul is in deep travail for Mr. Wells—I hope God will set him at liberty. The sore throat and scarlet fever prevail in this city, yet are the inhabitants vain and wicked to a proverb. I bless God for health.

Wednesday, 9. I had a good time on Matt. vii, 7. In the evening the clouds about Mr. Wells began to disperse; in the morning he could rejoice in the Lord. How great is the work of God—once a sinner, yesterday a seeker, and now His adopted child! Now we know that God hath brought us here, and have a hope that there will be a glorious work among the people—at least among the Africans.

Thursday, 10. This day I delivered my last discourse on 1 Pet. iii, 15. I loved and pitied the people, and left some under gracious impressions. We took our leave: and had the satisfaction of observing that Mrs. Wells appeared to be very sensibly affected.[22]

We had rough crossing, in going over the Bay to Hadrell's Point.[23] I baptized two children at Mr. Scott's,[24] for which I was offered a great reward—but it was by persons who did not know that neither my own feelings nor the constitution of our Church permitted me to receive any compensation for such services.

We reached Georgetown time enough to give notice for preaching in the evening.

Sunday, 13. The people generally attended and were serious. We found Mrs. Wayne under deep distress of soul.

From Georgetown[25] we came by Kingstree[26] and got to Mr. Durant's,[27]

[22] Asbury left Henry Willis as preacher in Charleston, taking him from Holston Circuit to which he had been appointed at the 1784 conference. He formed a society and was the first pastor, though John Tunnell appears in the minutes. The explanation is that Willis served only a few weeks between conferences. At the conference at Green Hill's soon to follow Willis was given oversight of the Yadkin and Holston circuits, and Tunnell was assigned to Charleston. (Betts: *History of South Carolina Methodism*, 55.)

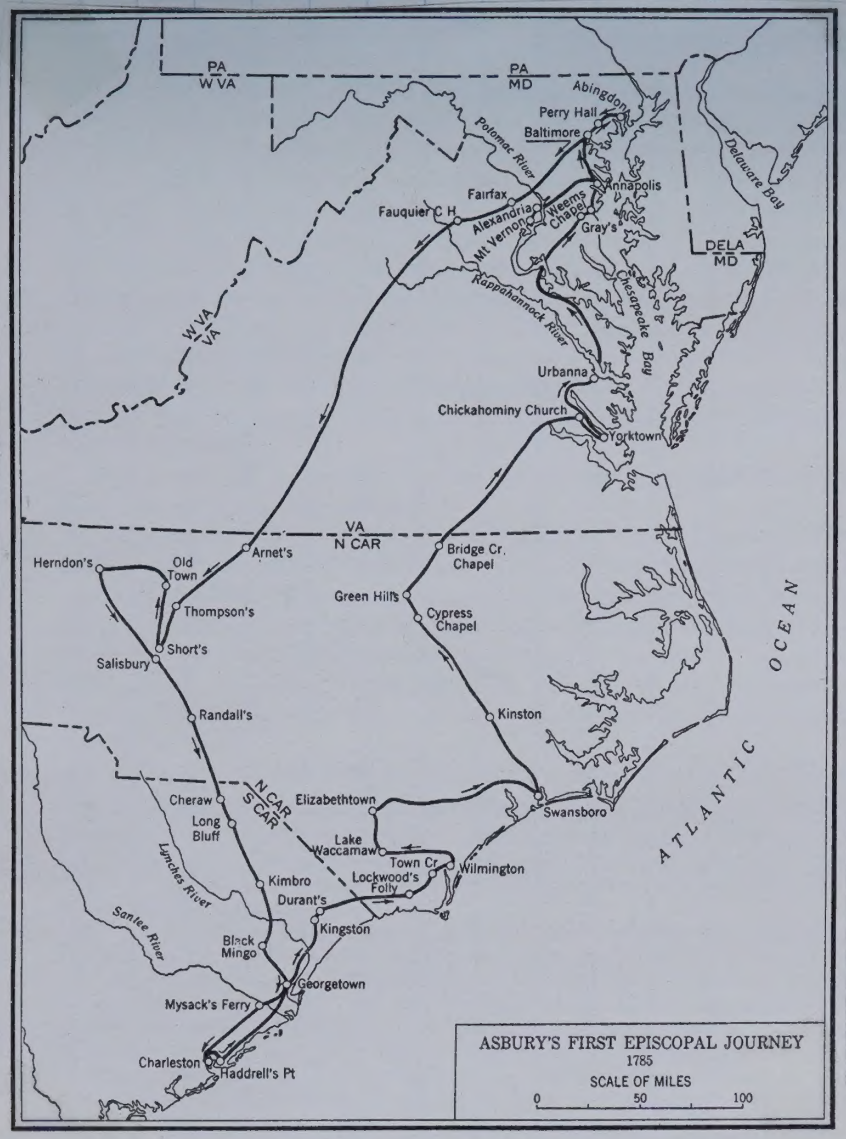
[23] Asbury crossed the harbor eastward to Hadrell's Point, now Mount Pleasant, and followed the old King's Highway to Georgetown.

[24] Perhaps the Scotts with whom Asbury stayed on the night of February 25.

[25] Woolman Hickson was doubtless left in Georgetown since he was appointed to that circuit the following April. It became the Pee Dee Circuit a year later.

[26] This was doubtless Kingston instead of Kingstree, since a visit to the latter would have involved a wide detour without apparent reason. Chreitzberg (*op. cit.*, 42) noted and queried the contradiction, and Betts agrees in thus correcting the *Journal*. Asbury went via the Yuahannah Ferry to Kingston, the present Conway in Horry County.

[27] Durant lived forty-five miles northeast of Georgetown and six or seven miles beyond Kingston (now Conway) where Durant's Church now stands. Several Durant families are indicated on old maps of the region. (Henry Mougon's map, 1773, published by Robt. Sayer and J. Bennett, London; Series of County Maps by Robert Mills, 1825.) There were meetinghouses in Horry County and the lower neck of Marion County



This shows him northern near our known Griffiths in 1785, and they were gone by 1787.

* Madison Court House is where Rev Samuel Griffith stood up in 1786 requesting permission to perform marriages. He actually lived at "mouth of Sugar Creek" in present Garrard Co, not yet created in 1790. The Griffiths came there 1787/8. Madison Co, includes Boones boro, established by Daniel Boone as first fort on the southern circuit.

thirteen guns only. We moved on very swiftly, considering the roughness of the way, travelling, by my computation, thirty-five miles to-day.[90]

Kentucky

Next day we reached Rich Land Creek,[91] and encamped on the road about nine o'clock at night, having made, by computation, forty-five miles.

Sunday, 9. We travelled about fifty miles; and next day forty-five miles, and reached Madison court house,[92] passing the branches of Rock Castle River: on our journey we saw the rock whence the river derives its name;[93] it is amazing and curious, with appearances the most artificial I have ever seen—it is not unlike an old church or castle in Europe. We stopped at McGuire's,[94] whose wife, now a tender, gracious soul, was taken prisoner by the Indians during the last war, and carried to Detroit.

* ✓ 1790

Tuesday, 11. Crossed Kentucky River. I was strangely outdone for want of sleep, having been greatly deprived of it in my journey through the wilderness; which is like being at sea, in some respects, and in others worse. Our way is over mountains, steep hills, deep rivers, and muddy creeks; a thick growth of reeds for miles together; and no inhabitants but wild beasts and savage men. Sometimes, before I am aware, my ideas would be leading me to be looking out ahead for a fence; and I would, without reflection, try to recollect the houses we should have lodged at in the wilderness. I slept about an hour the first night, and about two the last; we ate no regular meal; our bread grew short, and I was much spent.

I saw the graves of the slain—twenty-four in one camp.[95] I learn that

[90] Escorted by his armed guard, Asbury now started his first trip to Kentucky, accompanied by Richard Whatcoat, Hope Hull, and John Sewell. An old powder horn with large lettering, "Francis Asbury, May 1, 1790," was discovered at Medina, Ohio, in a collection made by a Kentucky physician. It is presumed to have been carried by Asbury on this trip, indicating that the Bishop was also armed. The route was tedious. The party traveled the old Wilderness Trail to Cumberland Gap and then over a narrow Indian trail.

[91] Richland Creek is in Knox County. The party camped near the present town of Barbourville. Whatcoat says that they reached New Station near Cumberland Gap and spent the night at Joseph Lewis' on May 7, and rode to the Rich Valley on the eighth. (*Journal*, in Sweet, *op. cit.*, 100, 101.)

[92] Madison courthouse is the present Richmond, county seat of Madison County, Kentucky. On the ninth they rode to "near the Hazel Patch" and on the 10th to "Wm. Maguyer near Mattason Courthouse." (*Ibid.*, 101.) ✓

[93] Rock Castle is in Laurel County, Kentucky, about four miles south of Livingston.

[94] Sweet, *op. cit.*, 101.

[95] Evidently the graves of the victims of what is known as "McNitt's Defeat," which occurred the night of October 3, 1786. Twenty-four persons were killed and scalped, and five women carried away. The leaders of the party were members of the McNitt, Ford, and Barnes families from Botetourt and Rockbridge counties in Virginia. The victims were buried at the camp site, and the graves are still preserved in the Levi Jackson State Park, near London, Kentucky. This camp site and the graves were

they had set no guard, and that they were up late playing at cards. A poor woman of the company had dreamed three times that the Indians had surprised and killed them all; she urged her husband to entreat the people to set a guard, but they only abused him, and cursed him for his pains. As the poor woman was relating her last dream the Indians came upon the camp; she and her husband sprung away, one east, the other west, and escaped. She afterwards came back and witnessed the carnage. These poor sinners appeared to be ripe for destruction. I received an account of the death of another wicked wretch who was shot through the heart, although he had vaunted, with horrid oaths, that no Creek Indian could kill him. These are some of the melancholy accidents to which the country is subject for the present; as to the land, it is the richest body of fertile soil I have ever beheld.

Wednesday, 12. I preached for the first time at Reynolds's,[96] on Jer. 1, 4, 5, and the Lord was with me.

Thursday, 13. Being court time, I preached in a dwelling house at Lexington,[97] and not without some feeling. The Methodists do but little here—others lead the way. After dinner I rode about five miles in company with poor Charles White.[98] Ah! how many times have I eaten at this man's table, in New York!—and now, he is without property and without grace. When about to part, I asked him if he loved God: his soul was in his eyes; he burst into tears, and could scarcely speak—"he did not love God, but he desired it."

Our conference was held at brother Masterson's,[99] a very comfortable

quently mentioned by diarists who stopped at the spot on the Wilderness Road, since it was one of the largest massacres of a single group during the period from 1785 to 1794, when the Chickamaugas were doing most of the marauding. (Robert L. Kincaid, author of *The Wilderness Road*.) The Camp Ground Church in Laurel County is near the site of the massacre.

[96] Whatcoat says the party rode to "Henery Renolds" on the eleventh and that Asbury preached and he exhorted on the twelfth, after which they went on to Morgan Bryan's.

[97] This house was the home of Robert Wood, later the father-in-law of Thomas Scott, a Methodist preacher who became Chief Justice of the state of Ohio. Wood settled in Louisville in 1788 or 1789, and Scott believed that he was the first Methodist to reside there. Late in 1789 or early in 1790 he moved to Lexington. Asbury's first sermon in that town was preached at his house, "a guard being placed at the door to keep off the mob." (Manuscript *Journal* of the Rev. Thomas Scott, in the possession of the Rev. Lawrence Sherwood; see *Journal* entry for April 14, 1794.)

[98] According to Whatcoat they called at Lexington on Charles White, who lately came from New York, on the seventeenth. (*Op. cit.*, 102.) He was an original trustee of Wesley's Chapel in New York and its treasurer. (Tipple: *Heart of Asbury's Journal*, 299; *Journal* entries and notes for November 24, 1771; April 29, 1793.)

[99] Richard Masterson moved from Virginia to Fayette County, Kentucky, about 1784 and erected the first Methodist meetinghouse in the state. It was located five miles northwest of Lexington, near Greendale, on the site now occupied by the United States Narcotics Hospital. Five conferences convened here between 1790 and 1800. The conference began on the thirteenth with preaching by Whatcoat and exhortations by Williamson, Richards, and Haw. (Whatcoat's *Journal*.)

These are early congregations but not near our family.

house, and kind people. We went through our business in great love and harmony. I ordained Wilson Lee, Thomas Williamson, and Barnabas M'Henry, elders.[100] We had preaching noon and night, and souls were converted, and the fallen restored. My soul has been blessed among these people, and I am exceedingly pleased with them. I would not, for the worth of all the place, have been prevented in this visit, having no doubt but that it will be for the good of the present rising generation. It is true, such exertions of mind and body are trying; but I am supported under it: if souls are saved, it is enough. Brother Poythress[101] is much alive to God. We fixed a plan for a school, and called it *Bethel*; and obtained a subscription of upwards of three hundred pounds, in land and money, towards its establishment.[102]

Monday, 17. Rode to Coleman's chapel,[103] about ten miles from Lexington, and preached to an unengaged people. We thence rode to John Lewis's,[104] on the bend of Kentucky River. Lewis is an old acquaintance, from Leesburg, Virginia; I was pleased to find that heaven and religion were not lost sight of in this family. Brother Lewis offered me one hundred acres of land for *Bethel*, on a good spot for building materials.

[100] Wilson Lee (1761–1804) was a native of Delaware. He was admitted on trial in 1784, and prior to migrating to Kentucky he served circuits in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, on one of which he was an assistant to Whatcoat. Thomas Williamson was admitted in 1785 and had traveled the Yadkin and Salisbury circuits in North Carolina. Barnabas McHenry (1767–1833) of North Carolina was admitted in 1787 and went to Kentucky the following year. Whatcoat says that Lee and McHenry were ordained deacons on the fifteenth, and the three were made elders on the sixteenth. He also says that James Haw and Joshua Hartley desisted from traveling. Haw was one of the pioneer preachers in Kentucky. He was received into full connection in 1782 and served in Virginia until going to the newly created Kentucky Circuit in 1786. According to the *Minutes* he was appointed to the Cumberland Circuit at this conference, but he is listed in the O'Kelley defection and joined the Republican Methodists, later becoming a Cumberland Presbyterian. Hartley was admitted on trial in 1785 and served in North Carolina and Virginia before going to Kentucky in 1789. (Whatcoat's *Journal*.)

[101] Francis Poythress (1732–1810) of Virginia was one of Deveraux Jarratt's converts and a noted early preacher. He began preaching in 1775 and served the Carolina circuit with Edward Dromgoole in 1776. He was presiding elder in Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. He went to Kentucky in 1787 and was the first presiding elder there. He was one of the founders of Bethel Academy and was to Kentucky what Jesse Lee was to New England, virtual founder of Methodism. He suffered mental derangement after 1800. (See note under October 15, 1810.)

[102] At the conference in North Carolina in 1789 Coke said he had letters from friends in Kentucky asking that a college be established. Bethel, near Lexington, became the first Methodist school in the state. (For its history see note under October 4, 1800.)

[103] Coleman's Chapel was at or near the home of Benjamin Coleman and was probably erected by him. (Whatcoat, *op. cit.*, 102.)

[104] This was Captain John Lewis. Lewis' Chapel was nearby, and the conference met there in 1794. (*Ibid.*; Arnold: *Methodism in Kentucky*, I, 181.) The Lewis farm was in Jesamine County on Highway 29 between Wilmore and High Bridge.

get book

* How far did the Cumberland Circuit extend?

We rode through mire and rain twenty-one miles to Francis Clark's,[105] near Danville, where we had a numerous congregation.

Saturday, 22. We had a noble shout at Brown's,[106] and four souls professed to be converted to God. Reached the Crab Orchard, and lodged under a tree,[107] very feverish and unwell; a poor beginning this.

Monday, 24. We set out on our return through the wilderness with a large and helpless company; we had about fifty people, twenty of whom were armed, and five of whom might have stood fire. To preserve order and harmony, we had articles drawn up for, and signed by, our company, and I arranged the people for travelling according to the regulations agreed upon. Some disaffected gentlemen, who would neither sign nor come under discipline, had yet the impudence to murmur when left behind. The first night we lodged some miles behind the Hazel patch.[108] The next day we discovered signs of Indians, and some thought they heard voices; we therefore thought it best to travel on, and did not encamp until three o'clock, halting on the east side of Cumberland River. We had gnats enough. We had an alarm, but it turned out to be a false alarm. A young gentleman, a Mr. Alexander, behaved exceedingly well; but his tender frame was not adequate to the fatigue to be endured, and he had well-nigh fainted on the road to Cumberland Gap. Brother Peter Massie was captain; and finding I had gained authority among the people, I acted somewhat in the capacity of an adjutant and quartermaster among them. At the foot of the mountain the company separated; the greater part went on with me to Powell's River; here we slept on the earth, and next day made the Grassy Valley. Several of the company, who were not Methodists, expressed their high approbation of our conduct, and most affectionately invited us to their houses. The journeys of each day were as follows: *Monday* forty-five miles; *Tuesday* fifty miles; *Wednesday* sixty miles.

[105] Francis Clark's home was in Lincoln County, now Boyle County, about six miles west of Danville. He and John Durham had moved to Kentucky from Virginia in 1783. Clark, a local preacher, organized the first Methodist society in Kentucky in John Durham's home. A historical marker on Highway 150 between Danville and Perryville marks the location of the Durham home. Clark probably preached the first Methodist sermon in Ohio at Fort Washington, the present Cincinatti, in 1793. Asbury reached Clark's on the eighteenth and preached and administered the sacrament the following day. (Whatcoat, *op. cit.*, 102.)

[106] This was Absolom Brown. On the previous day Asbury and his party had been at the home of Willis Green "on Salt Water River." He was a Virginian who went to Kentucky at an early date and served in the Kentucky legislature and as a trustee of Bethel Academy and Transylvania Seminary. He lived in Lincoln County. (*Ibid.*, 102, 103; Arnold, *op. cit.*, I, 27.)

[107] Whatcoat says they rode to an undisclosed place on the twenty-third, where he and Asbury preached to six or seven hundred people. They then went on to Crab Orchard. Crab Orchard was in Lincoln County.

[108] Hazel Patch was about eight miles north of the present town of London, Kentucky.

* Present Boyle Co. is just west of Garrard. 1783 is quite early.

Thursday, 27. By riding late we reached Capt. Amis's where I had a bed to rest on.

Virginia

Friday, *Saturday*, and *Sunday*, 28, 29, 30. I spent at General Russell's[109] whose wife is converted since I left the house last; I thought then that she was not far from the kingdom of God.

I found myself dispirited in public preaching. I afterward ordained I. Ragan[110] and B. Vanpelt,[111] local preachers, to the office of deacons.

Monday, 31. Rode to New River,[112] forty-five or fifty miles; here I saw John Tunnell, very low; a mere shadow; but very humble and patient under his affliction.[113]

North Carolina

Tuesday, *June* 1. I rode about forty-five miles to Armstrong's, and next day about four o'clock reached M'Knights on the Yadkin River, in North Carolina;[114] here the conference had been waiting for me nearly two weeks: we rejoiced together, and my brethren received me as one brought from the jaws of death. Our business was much matured, the critical concern of the council understood, and the plan, with its amendments, adopted.

Saturday and *Sunday*, 5, 6. Were days of the Lord's presence and power —several were converted. We had an ordination each day. We have admitted into full connection some steady men, with dispositions and talents for the work.[115]

[109] There is a chronological divergence in the accounts of Asbury and Whatcoat. The latter in his *Journal* for these dates says they lost their way on the twenty-eighth of May and slept in a little cabin "under the widow's roof." On the twenty-ninth they rode about fifty miles to Michael Halfacre's and did not reach General Russell's until the thirtieth.

[110] "Ragan" was probably James Riggin, a local preacher, who visited Asbury at the home of Mitchell Porter in Sevier County, Tennessee, on October 18, 1808.

[111] Benjamin Van Pelt, was a brother of Peter Van Pelt, who welcomed Asbury to Staten Island in 1771. Benjamin went to Tennessee in 1780 and built one of the first meetinghouses in that section. It was on Lick Creek in Greene County.

[112] According to Whatcoat they stayed at Michael Lee's on New River and passed through Flower Gap to North Carolina.

[113] John Tunnell, one of the noted pioneer preachers, was dying with tuberculosis. Asbury soon returned to preach his funeral.

[114] Asbury and Whatcoat rode up Cripple Creek to Armstrong's near the Flower Gap. George McKnight lived a mile and a half west of Clemmonsville, the present Clemmons, in Yadkin, now Forsyth County, near the Yadkin River. McKnight's Chapel was an important preaching place where several conferences were held. On the fourth Whatcoat rode to Adam Peathree's to have the horses shod. (Whatcoat, *op. cit.*, 103.)

[115] At this conference Asbury preached and ordained seven elders. The exhorters were Thomas Anderson, presiding elder in South Carolina, and Isaac Lowe, who was serving the Guilford Circuit. On leaving McKnight's the party rode to John Hill's. (*Ibid.*, 104.)

We have rested two days besides Sabbaths, and ridden two hundred and fifty miles in about two weeks: our entertainment is generally mean.

Monday, 19. Our horses' backs being bruised, we had our difficulties in getting to Rehoboth.

We were well-nigh cast away in going to the widow W——'s. It was very dark, and we were bewildered in the woods. My saddle turned, and I slipped from my horse, but received no harm. I had to walk nearly half a mile through mud and water to reach the house.

Tuesday, 20. I came to Gordon's, on the Yadkin. It is seven years since I was here—dead! dead! The world—the devil—Antinomianism in doctrine and practice. I was led out in preaching on Deut. xxxiii, 29.

Virginia

Wednesday, 21. We started for Holston.[25] After riding about fifteen miles, we stopped to feed, and a woman directed us along the new way over the Elk Spur. We found ourselves in a wilderness. The weather was very cold, and the night coming on, we were at a loss what to do. Whilst we were wishfully looking about us, to our great satisfaction we discovered a house. It was clean and comfortable, and we were well entertained.

Thursday, 22. We made an early start for friend Enoch Osborne's,[26] on New River, fifteen miles distant. Here we were generously entertained. After talking and praying together, we were guided across the river, for which I was thankful. Arriving at Fox Creek, we crossed it eleven times, and tarried that night with C——, a *nominal* member of the Society of Friends, who used us very well.

Friday, 23. Rode twelve miles to Smith's.[27] After dinner, exhortation, and prayer, we came down the south fork, and crossed the middle fork of Holston river.

Saturday, 24. Came to the Salt Works,[28] and on *Sunday* preached on, "Happy is the people whose God is the Lord."

Monday, 26. I had enlargement in preaching to an attentive congregation at Abingdon court house.[29]

Tuesday, 27. Preached at Owens'[30] on, "This people have I formed for myself."

[25] The party crossed from the Yadkin in North Carolina to the Holston country by the way of Flower Gap, now Low's Gap, near Galax, Virginia.

[26] Enoch Osborne lived near Bridal Creek in Grayson County, Virginia. (Nuckols: *Pioneer Settlers of Grayson County*, 171.)

[27] See *Journal* entry for May 16, 1788.

[28] The Salt Works refers to the home of General Russell at Saltville.

[29] Abingdon is the county seat of Washington County.

[30] From Abingdon the party went to the Owens' home by way of Moccasin Gap.

Methodism was well established in Washington Co by the time the Vestys arrived

Tennessee

Thursday, 29. We had many people to hear at Charles Baker's,[31] to whom I preached with some life. We took half a day to have the smith's work done in fitting our horses for the journey through the wilderness.

Rode twenty-four miles to Mr. Young's, on the main Holston, and the next day, eighteen miles to Hawkins court house,[32] and thence to Crabb's.[33] We have confused accounts of Indians. Our guard rested on the Sabbath day within four miles of the wilderness.

Saturday, 31. I heard a company had arrived from Kentucky at Crabb's. This man's son and a Mr. Henderson have been killed by the Indians since I was here last.

Sunday, *April* 1. I preached to all the people I could collect.

Kentucky

Monday, 2. We entered the wilderness and reached Robinson's station.[34] Two of the company were on foot, carrying their packs; and women there are with their children. These encumbrances make us move slowly and heavily.

Tuesday, 3. We reached Richland Creek, and were preserved from harm. About two o'clock it began to rain, and continued most of the day. After crossing the Laurel River, which we were compelled to swim, we came to Rock Castle station, where we found such a set of sinners as made it next to hell itself. Our corn here cost us a dollar per bushel.[35]

Wednesday, 4. This morning we again swam the river, and also the West Fork thereof. My little horse was ready to fail in the course of the day. I was steeped in the water up to the waist. About seven o'clock, with hard pushing, we reached the Crab Orchard. How much I have suffered in this journey is only known to God and myself. What added much to its disagreeableness, is the extreme filthiness of the houses. I was seized with a severe flux, which followed me eight days: for some of the time I kept up, but at last found myself under the necessity of taking to my bed.

Tuesday, 10. I endured as severe pain as, perhaps, I ever felt. I made

[31] From Owens' they went by way of Big Moccasin Gap to the home of Charles Baker on the Holson River.

[32] Hawkins courthouse was the present Rogersville in Hawkins County.

[33] Crabb was a trader who lived below Bean's Station. Asbury was there on May 7, 1790.

[34] Robinson's Station was on the Wilderness Road north of Cumberland Gap in Kentucky.

[35] Asbury's party went through Cumberland Gap, Knox, Laurel, and Rock Castle counties in Kentucky along the general route followed in May, 1790. (See the notes for that trip.)

use of small portions of rhubarb; and also obtained some good claret, of which I drank a bottle in three days, and was almost well, so that on Sunday following I preached a sermon an hour long. In the course of my affliction I have felt myself very low. I have had serious views of eternity, and was free from the fear of death. I stopped and lodged, during my illness with Mr. Willis Green, who showed me all possible attention and kindness.

I wrote and sent to Mr. Rice, a Presbyterian minister, a commendation of his speech, delivered in a convention in Kentucky, on the natural rights of mankind.[36] I gave him an exhortation to call on the Methodists on his way to Philadelphia, and, if convenient, to preach in our houses.

Wednesday, 11. I wrote an address on behalf of Bethel school. The weather was wet, and stopped us until Friday.

Friday, 20. Rode to Clarke's station;[37] and on Saturday preached on David's charge to Solomon.

Sunday, 22. I preached a long, and perhaps a terrible sermon, some may think, on "Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men."

Monday, 23. I rode to Bethel.[38] I found it necessary to change the plan of the house, to make it more comfortable to the scholars in cold weather. I am too much in company, and hear so much about Indians, convention, treaty, killing, and scalping, that my attention is drawn more to these things than I would wish. I found it good to get alone in the woods and converse with God.

Wednesday, 25. Was a rainy, damp day. However, we rode to meet the conference,[39] where I was closely employed with the travelling and local preachers; with the leaders and stewards. I met the married men and women apart, and we had great consolation in the Lord. Vast crowds of people attended public worship. The spirit of matrimony is very prevalent here. In one circuit both preachers are settled. The land is good, the country new, and indeed all possible facilities to the comfortable maintenance of a family are offered to an industrious prudent pair.

Monday, 30. Came to L——'s. An alarm was spreading of a depredation committed by the Indians, on the east and west frontiers of the settlement. In the former, report says one man was killed. In the latter, many men, with women and children. Everything is in motion. There having been

[36] The Rev. David Rice from Virginia established the first Presbyterian church in Kentucky ten years earlier. He wrote a letter to the convention protesting against the introduction of slavery into Kentucky. This was the occasion of Asbury's letter of commendation to Rice.

[37] See note under May 17, 1790.

[38] Bethel Academy was not completed. (See notes under May 13, 1790, and October 4, 1800.)

[39] The conference met at Masterson's. (See note under May 13, 1790.) On Highway 68, five miles from Greensburg in Green County, Kentucky, is Mount Lebanon Church, which local tradition says was founded by Asbury in 1792. The date appears over the door, and there is a marble memorial to Asbury there. It does not appear, however, that Asbury was there in 1792.

so many about me at conference, my rest was much broken. I hoped now to repair it, and get refreshed before I set out to return through the wilderness; but the continual arrival of people until midnight, the barking of dogs, and other annoyances, prevented. Next night we reached the Crab Orchard, where thirty or forty people were compelled to crowd into one mean house. We could get no more rest here than we did in the wilderness. We came the old way by Scaggs Creek, and Rock Castle, supposing it to be safer, as it was a road less frequented, and therefore less liable to be waylaid by the savages. My body by this time is well tried. I had a violent fever and pain in the head, such as I had not lately felt. I stretched myself on the cold ground, and borrowing clothes to keep me warm, by the mercy of God I slept four or five hours. Next morning we set off early, and passed beyond Richland Creek. Here we were in danger, if anywhere. I could have slept, but was afraid. Seeing the drowsiness of the company, I walked the encampment, and watched the sentries the whole night. Early next morning we made our way to Robinson's station. We had the best company I ever met with—thirty-six good travellers, and a few warriors; but we had a pack-horse, some old men, and two tired horses—these were not the best part.

Tennessee

Saturday, May 5. Through infinite mercy we came safe to Crabb's. Rest, poor house of clay, from such exertions! Return, O my soul, to thy rest!

Monday, 7. I came to Young's: a comfortable, quiet house, within six miles of Ratcliffe's, whose wife and children were murdered by the Indians. Here I slept comfortably.

Tuesday, 8. We came to brother Baker's, where we rested two days and had our horses shod.

Virginia

Friday, 11. Rode to Michael Halfacre's, about fifty miles, and came in about eleven o'clock.

Saturday, *Sunday*, and *Monday*, 12, 13, 14. We were engaged in the business of conference at Holston.[40] I had a meeting with the men; a lively one with the women, most of whose hearts the Lord touched.

Tuesday, 15. We came to Russell's old place,[41] at Seven Mile Ford, and

[40] The conference met at Halfacre's, or Huffacres. (See notes under May 6, 1788.)

[41] General Russell lived in the old home of his wife, the former Mrs. William Campbell, at Aspenville, until they moved to Saltville in February, 1788. Cook lived in the present West Virginia.

county, Virginia, to form what they call a free constitution, and a pure Church; and to reject me and my creatures.[25] I know not whose hand is in this; I hope they will call themselves by another name. Only let them settle in congregations and tax the people, and I know how it will work. If we (the itinerant connexion) would give the government into the hands of a local ministry, as some would have it, and tax the people to pay preachers for Sabbath work—this would please such men: but this we dare not do. Whenever the people are unwilling to receive us and think they can do better, we will quietly withdraw from them; and if those who wish the change can serve them better than we have done, well. Perhaps some of them may think with Hammett, in Georgia, that I am the greatest villain on the continent; I bid such adieu, and appeal to the bar of God. I have no time to contend, having better work to do: if we lose some children, God will give us more. Ah! this is the mercy, the justice of some who, under God, owe their all to me, and my *tyrants*, so called. The Lord judge between them and me! There appears to be a general quickening in the Yadkin circuit, and about eight souls have professed conversion there in the last three months.

Monday, 25. I rested and prepared to cross the *Harmon harim*—the multitude of mountains.

Tuesday, 26. We wrought up the meanders of Johns River to the Globe,[26] and met a few people at Mr. Moor's, a Baptist, a very kind head of a respectable family.

Wednesday, 27. We began our journey over the great ridge of mountains: we had not gone far before we saw and felt the snow; the sharpness of the air gave me a deep cold, not unlike an influenza. We came to the head of Watauga River. Stopped at Mr. S——'s, and had some enlargement on, "The promise is to you and to your children," &c. My soul felt for these neglected people. It may be, by my coming this way, Providence will so order it, that I shall send them a preacher. We hasted on to Cove's Creek, invited ourselves to stay at C——'s, where we made our own tea, obtained some butter and milk, and some most excellent Irish potatoes: we were presented with a little flax for our beds, on which we spread our coats and blankets, and three of us slept before a large fire.

Thursday, 28. We made an early start, and came to the Beaver Dam; three years ago we slept here in a cabin without a cover. We made a breakfast at Mr. W——'s; and then attempted the iron or stone mountain, which is steep like the roof of a house. I found it difficult and trying to my lungs to walk up it. Descending the mountain, we had to jump down the

[25] The reference here is to the O'Kellyites who were organizing the Republican Methodist Church in Virginia. (See letter of November 23, 1793.)

[26] John's River is in the northern area of Burke County, North Carolina, between Morganton and Lenoir. Globe is in Caldwell County, North Carolina. There was a chapel at Globe. (See *Journal* entries for April 27, 1788, and April 4, 1790.)

steep stairs, from two to three and four feet. At the foot of this mountain our guide left us to a man on foot; he soon declined, and we made the best of our way to Julius Dugger's[27] ford, on Roans Creek. We came down the river, where there are plenty of large, round, rolling stones, and the stream was rapid. My horse began to grow dull: an intermittent fever and a deep cold disordered me much. I was under obligations to Henry Hill, my new aid, who was ready to do anything for me in his power. Perhaps Providence moved him to offer to travel with me, and his father to recommend him. Twenty years ago a rude, open loft did not affect me—now it seldom fails to injure me.

Tennessee

Friday, 29. We took our journey deliberately. We passed Doe River at the fork,[28] and came through the Gap; a most gloomy scene—not unlike the Shades of Death in the Alleghany mountain.[29] Mr. L——, a kind Presbyterian, fed our horses gratis.[30] I must give the Presbyterians the preference for respect to ministers. We prayed, and came on to a kind people;[31] but to our sorrow we find it low times for religion on Holston and Watauga Rivers. In Green circuit there is some increase. My way opens; and I think I shall go to Kentucky. I laid my hands on what is called "The Principles of Politeness," imitated from Chesterfield: it contains some judicious remarks, and shows the author to have been a man of sense and education, but of no religion. He recommends some things contrary thereto.

Tuesday, April 2. Our conference began at Nelson's, near Jonesboro in the new territory.[32] We have only four or five families of Methodists here. We had sweet peace in our conference.

Wednesday, 3. I gave an exhortation after brothers Henry Hill and Barnabus M'Henry[33] had preached, and there was a melting among the people.

[27] Ramsay's *Annals*, 142.

[28] This was at the outskirts of the present Elizabethton, Tennessee. (Williams: *Early Travels*, 299.)

[29] The "Shades of Death" refers to a section along the state highway from Elizabethton to Bristol. (*Ibid.*)

[30] Asbury was in the neighborhood of the New Bethel Presbyterian Church, one of the oldest in that region. (*Ibid.*)

[31] Asbury probably stopped at the home of William Cobb, which is still standing. Here was the first seat of a government of the Southwest Territory under Governor William Blount in 1790. (*Ibid.*)

[32] This was the first Methodist conference held within the limits of Tennessee. (*Ibid.*)

[33] Barnabus McHenry was the elder over several circuits in Virginia. He was appointed at this conference to the Salt River Circuit.

* Our William Clayton family lived there in 1870

Thursday, 4. I had a happy time at my old friend Cash's;[34] I am pained for his children, who are yet unconverted.

Friday, 5. Rode to Nolachucky, and attended a meeting at Squire Ernest's,[35] where I had about two hundred hearers. We have formed a society in this place of thirty-one members, most of them new. There are appearances of danger on the road to Kentucky; but the Lord is with us. We have formed a company of nine men, (five of whom are preachers,) who are well armed and mounted.

Saturday, 6. Rode to Greenville, and crossed the grand island ford of Nolachucky: the lowlands are very rich, the uplands barren. Stopped and fed at Green court house; here was brought a corpse to the grave in a covered carriage drawn by four horses. Solemn sight! Be instructed, O my soul! A whisky toper gave me a cheer of success as one of John Wesley's congregation! I came on alone through heavy rains, over bad hills and poor ridges, to brother Benjamin Van Pelt's,[36] on Lick Creek; he is brother to Peter, my old, first friend on Staten Island: I was weary, damp, and hungry; but had a comfortable habitation, and kind, loving people, who heard, refreshed, and fed me. We had a large congregation at brother Van Pelt's chapel,[37] where I had liberty in speaking. I left the young men to entertain the people awhile longer, and returned and read Mr. Wesley's Sermon on Riches.

If reports be true, there is danger in journeying through the wilderness; but I do not fear—we go armed. If God suffer Satan to drive the Indians on us; if it be his will, he will teach our hands to war, and our fingers to fight and conquer.

Monday, 8. Our guard appeared, fixed, and armed, for the wilderness. We came down to E——'s, and were well entertained. Thence we proceeded on to the main branch of Holston which, being swelled, we crossed in a flat; thence to R——'s, where I found the reports relative to the Indians were true—they had killed the post and one or two more, and taken some prisoners. I had not much thought or fear about them.

Tuesday, 9. We came off: there were only eight in our company, and eight in the other; two women and three children. We had two poor sinners, that set themselves to work wickedness: they would not let us go foremost: so we took it patiently, and followed up to the Cumberland station. I went to Robinson's station, where the soldiers behaved civilly. We gave them two exhortations, and had prayer with them. They honoured

[34] Mr. Cash lived in Washington County, Tennessee. (*Ibid.*)

[35] This meeting was held at the home of Henry or Felix Ernest in Green County. Both were ardent Methodists and had descendants who are members of Ebenezer Church today. (*Ibid.*)

[36] Benjamin Van Pelt, brother of Peter Van Pelt, who first welcomed Asbury on Staten Island, moved westward in 1780.

[37] The chapel erected by Benjamin Van Pelt near Mosheim was one of the earliest Methodist meetinghouses in Tennessee. (*Ibid.*)

me with the swinging hammock (a bear skin), which was as great a favour to me as the governor's bed; here I slept well.

Kentucky

Wednesday, 10. We hasted on our way, meeting with our troubles at the foot of Cumberland mountain; we then went foremost, and travelled at a great rate, the roads being uncommonly good.[38] We fed on the banks of Cumberland River, and kept up the head of Rich Lands. We then pushed through Little and Big Laurel to the Hazel Patch,[39] Hood's station. Here there was high life below stairs, talking, laughing, &c. We had a troop of poor, very poor sinners; I gave dreadful offence by a prayer I made. After resting here from three to six, we urged our way along the new road to Rock Castle. Fed at the deserted station, and hasted to Willis Green's; but, missing our way, did not get in until eight o'clock: a supper at that time was good, and a bed was better, having not slept in one for three nights, and having ridden one hundred miles in two days. I felt so well in the morning I was ready to set out for Salt River. I went to Danville, and set myself down in Mr. Rice's church[40]; thence to Francis Clark's,[41] where I was not expected, but was quite welcome. I left my aid and packhorse at G——'s, to rest.

Saturday, 13. We rode thirty-three miles down to a quarterly meeting at Humphries chapel.[42] Here my presence surprised the brethren. The state of the work here appears to be low. I had some light, life, and liberty in preaching, and some felt the word. We closed our meeting after several had joined in prayer. Lord, remember the labours of this day! Let not thy faithful word fall to the ground! From the quarterly meeting we came to Col. Hardin's.[43] He has been gone some time, as a commissioner, to treat with the Indians; if he is dead, here is a widow and six children left. I cannot yet give him up for lost. We had a large congregation at W——'s,

[38] Asbury's party was traveling on the famous Wilderness Road. (Kincaid: *Wilderness Road*, 201.)

[39] The Hazel Patch was a clump of hazel bushes at the important junction of two prongs of the Wilderness Road, eight miles north of present London, Kentucky. (Kincaid, *op. cit.*, 113; see map.)

[40] The Rev. David Rice was a pioneer Presbyterian minister in Kentucky.

[41] The Rev. Francis Clark, a local preacher from Virginia, settled near Danville, where he organized the first Methodist society in Kentucky in 1783. (Redford, *op. cit.*, I, 149; Arnold: *Methodism in Kentucky*, 22–25.)

[42] Humphries Chapel was in Casey County, Kentucky, about thirty miles south of Danville. (*U.S. Geological Survey of Kentucky*, 1938.)

[43] Colonel John Hardin went from Virginia to Kentucky and in 1786 settled near Sandusky Station, a few miles from Springfield. He was a prominent citizen and Methodist and the father-in-law of the Rev. Barnabus McHenry. He was killed in 1792 by the Indians. (Redford, *op. cit.*, I, 117–19, 317–18; Roosevelt: *Winning of the West*, V, 176, 177.)

where I was led out on Psa. xxxiv, 17–20. I cannot stand quarterly meetings every day; none need desire to be an American bishop upon our plan, for the ease, honour, or interest that attends the office: from my present views and feelings, I am led to wish the conference would elect another bishop, which might afford me some help.

Tuesday, 16. Rode thirty miles without food for man or horse. I was uncomfortable when I came into the neighbourhood of W——'s: there is a falling away among the people. Lord, help me to bear up in the evil day! Let me not disquiet myself, and kill man and horse in vain.

Thursday, 18. I rode sixteen miles to Francis Clark's station to attend the quarterly meeting. My winter's clothing, the heat of the weather, and, my great exertions in travelling, cause me to be heavy with sleep; yet blessed be God, I live continually in his presence, and Christ is all in all to my soul!

Friday, 19. I preached a short, pointed sermon; and the preachers and members were moved.

Sunday, 21. We had sacrament and love feast; and some spoke much to the purpose: my subject was Heb. vi. 4–8. The congregation was very large. I endeavoured to show, 1st. How far people may advance in the grace of God; 2d. By what degrees they may apostatize; 3d. The impossibility of a recovery when they arrive at a certain degree of wickedness:—(1.) Because they sin against God, Christ, and the Eternal Spirit, and lose all they ever felt or knew;—(2.) Every means is lost upon them; to sin against the remedy, is to be undone without it. The difference between those who are recoverable and those who are not: such are not who deny the work to be of God, persecute, and say the devil was the author of it; the others acknowledge the work that it was of God, and have some regard for his people. Lastly: that the only security pointed out by the apostles against apostasy, is to go on to perfection.

Tuesday, 23. I was at Bethel—the place intended for a school.[44]

Sunday, 28. We had sacrament and love feast, and some living testimonies.

Monday, 29. Rode through the rain to Lexington. I stopped at Charles White's[45] once more. O that God may help him safe to glory! Came to brother Morgan's. I felt awful and solemn, and some dejection of mind. Ah! want of religion is too visible in most houses.

Tuesday, 30, *Wednesday*, *May* 1, *Thursday*, 2. We spent in conference; and in openly speaking our minds to each other. We ended under the melting, praying, praising power of God. We appointed trustees for the school; and made sundry regulations relative thereto: we read the Form of Discipline through, section by section, in conference.

Friday, 3. I preached on Habakkuk iii, 2. I first pointed out the distinguishing marks of a work of God; 2d. The subjects; 3d, The instruments; 4th, The means. If ever I delivered my own soul, I think I have done it this day. Some people were moved in an extraordinary manner, shouting and jumping at a strange rate.

[44] Bethel Academy was located in Jessamine County on land donated by John Lewis. See note under May 17, 1790.)

[45] See note under May 13, 1790.

Saturday, 4. Came to Bethel to meet the trustees.

Sunday 5. We had an awful time whilst I opened and applied "Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men." It was a feeling, melting time, among old and young; and I am persuaded good was certainly done this day. I feel a good deal tried in spirit, yet, blessed be God, I still have peace within; God is all to me: I want more faith to trust him with my life, and all I have and am.

Tuesday, 7. We rode down to the Crab Orchard, where we found company enough, some of whom were very wild: we had a company of our own, and refused to go with them. Some of them gave us very abusive language; and one man went upon a hill above us, and fired a pistol towards our company. We resolved to travel in our order, and bound ourselves by honour and conscience to support and defend each other, and to see every man through the wilderness. But we could not depend upon wicked and unprincipled men, who would leave and neglect us, and even curse us to our faces. Nor were we at liberty to mix with swearers, liars, drunkards; and, for aught we know, this may not be the worst with some. We were about fourteen or fifteen in company; and had twelve guns and pistols. We rode on near the defeated camp,[46] and rested till three o'clock under great suspicion of Indians: we pushed forward; and by riding forty-five miles on *Wednesday*, and about the same distance on *Thursday*, we came safe to Robinson's station, about eight o'clock.

Friday, 10. We rode leisurely from the edge of the wilderness, crossed Holston and about one o'clock came to brother E——'s, it being about sixteen miles.

Tennessee

Saturday, 11. We came to brother Van Pelt's, with whom we rested on the Sabbath. I have travelled between five and six hundred miles in the last four weeks, and have rested from riding fifteen days at conferences, and other places. I have been much distressed with this night work—no regular meals, nor sleep; and it is difficult to keep up prayer in such rude companies as we have been exposed to; I have also been severely afflicted through the whole journey.

Monday, 13. Was a day of great trial; we rode about forty-six miles; stopped at ——, where, through carelessness, I nearly had been burnt up.

Tuesday, 14. At eleven o'clock we came to Baker's.[47] The subject was,

[46] This refers to McNitt's defeat. (See note under May 11, 1790.)

[47] Charles Baker lived near Blountville, Tennessee.

From material about Garrard Co Ky in Teater file — Rev Samuel Griffith

① #6d-29 Mt. Olivet Methodist Church — in book about landmark buildings and their construction — page says one of oldest frame churches in vicinity but the picture shows a replacement. The page says:

"The Danville and Lexington Circuits of the Methodist Episcopal Church were formed in 1788. By 1793 the Danville Circuit included the counties of Mercer, Lincoln, Garrard and Madison. The earliest church records list Garrat's Meeting House as the first Methodist Church organized in Garrard County. Mt Olivet was the second." (in March 1845?)

The book shows two Teater homes of the later 1800's.

Forrest Calico A Story of Four Churches and Reminiscences of Pasey Ridge (1945) in Madison County Kentucky

pg 56 mentions Rev Paris Teater (1780-1861) (Samuel Griffith's younger brother-in-law) as "one of the early pastors of Gunn's Chapel Methodist Church in that county" (Garrard). When the book was written the pastor was Rev. Elmer Ray, a direct descendant of Rev Teater.

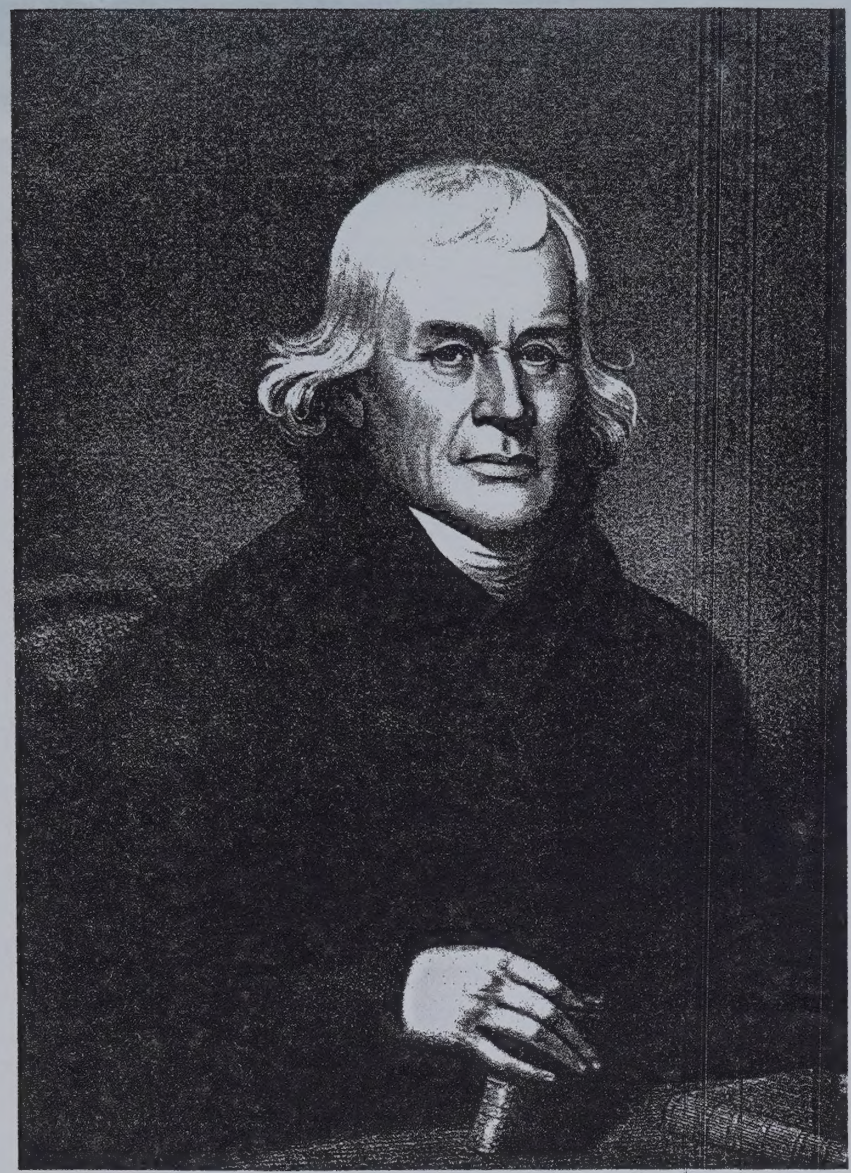
The book also includes History of Garrard County, Kentucky starting on page 1. He speaks of the early rush of land-grabbers from the very start of Kentucky when Daniel Boone led the first settlement in 1775 — all the good land was claimed by 1780. Many (Baptist) preachers were among the first. He lists many names of the wealthier claimants, including the Van Cleves who married into the Teater family. Before Garrard County was created, the western county line of Madison Co. ended at the east bank of Sugar Creek. (We know that Samuel Griffith lived at the mouth of Sugar Creek on the Kentucky River. Lincoln County was on the west bank. Northeast was a little piece of Mercer Co (now Jessamine), on the sw bank of the Kentucky River. On page 5 he mentions that Old Sugar Creek Meetinghouse was the east side of the creek at the time the new county came into existence.

Was Rev. Samuel Griffith preaching there? Madison Co. Order Book shows that he was ordained by 1796 when he obtained the court's permission to perform marriages.

clad — R.

Garrard formed 17 Dec 1796 to go into effect June 1 1797 but was 5 days late because commission arrived late.

pg 31 says John Murphy came to Danville in 1779 from South Carolina. In 1780 he moved to Scott's Station (Scott's Fork not far from Sugar Creek). (His coming there so early from SC suggests the Griffiths could have done the same.)



FRANCIS ASBURY
Portrait by John Paradise at New York, 1812. From the steel engraving by B. Tanner, 1814.

Frontispiece

The Journal and Letters of FRANCIS ASBURY

In Three Volumes

VOLUME I

The Journal

1771 to 1793

ELMER T. CLARK *Editor-in-Chief*
J. MANNING POTTS
JACOB S. PAYTON

Published Jointly By

EPWORTH PRESS
London

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Nashville

1958

This has a very small amount regarding the Methodist bishop's travels in Kentucky in 1790. Our Rev. Samuel Griffith was not yet ordained, but living in the area he visited, age & about 22.

1790

Asbury traveling with an armed party to the Kentucky Conference

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Virginia

January 1, 1790. No appointment for preaching. We are bound to the South, and shall proceed on as fast as we can.

Saturday, 2. We were refreshed in the evening. Next day (*Sabbath*) I preached at Chickahominy[1] church once more: sinners, Pharisees, backsliders, hypocrites, and believers, were faithfully warned; and of all these characters there were, doubtless, a goodly number in the large congregation which attended. Brother Philip Bruce went to Brown's, and brother Whatcoat and myself to Weldon's; at both these places the Lord was powerfully present in our meetings.

Monday, 4. We crossed James River,[2] with a fresh wind ahead, and only two poor blacks, where four ferrymen are necessary. Two brigs under sail came down full upon us, and we had hard work to get out of their way. These large ferries are dangerous and expensive: our ferriages alone have cost us £3 since we left Annapolis.

Tuesday, 5. Rested, and next day preached at brother Mooring's. I felt some power among the people; but the glory is measurably departed; the imprudent haste of the young people to marry unbelievers, and divisions excited by other causes, have done much injury.

[1] Chickahominy Church was an Established Church two miles south of the present Toano, Virginia. It was the successor of the Wilmington Lower Church which had been on the same site, and was built about 1750. (Mason: *Colonial Churches of Tidewater, Virginia.*)

[2] Whatcoat says they crossed at Swan Point ferry and narrowly escaped being run down by two brigs. (Sweet, *op. cit.*, 89.) They went through Surry and Sussex Counties.

at Smith's ferry,[69] and rode thirty miles to Amis's,[70] where we were well entertained for our money. Coming along, I complained that the people would take no pay for their food or services; that complaint has ceased. Very unwell as I was we pushed down Holston to the last house; here we had no hope of company from the eastern or western side. We turned out our horses to graze, and they strayed off; so here we are anchored indeed.[71]

The unsettled state of my stomach and bowels makes labour and life a burden. We are now in a house in which a man was killed by the savages; and O, poor creatures! they are but one remove from savages themselves. I consider myself in danger; but my God will keep me whilst thousands pray for me.

Sunday, 11. My soul is humbled before God, waiting to see the solution of this dark providence. The man of the house is gone after some horses supposed to be stolen by Indians. I have been near fainting; but my soul is revived again, and my bodily strength somewhat renewed. If these difficulties, which appear to impede my path, are designed to prevent my going to Kentucky, I hope to know shortly. I spent the *Sabbath* at Robert Bean's.[72] In the evening a company of eleven came to go forward. Our horses were not to be found without a great sum.

Monday morning, 12. We loaded brother Thomas Anderson's little horse with my great bags, and two pair smaller; four saddles, with blankets and provender. We then set out and walked ten miles, and our horses were brought to us, and those who brought them were pleased to take what we pleased to give. Brother Jeremiah Abel[73] sought the Lord by fasting and prayer, and had a strong impression that it was the will of God that I should not go with that company.

Tuesday, 13. We came back to Amis's—a poor sinner. He was highly offended that we prayed so loud in his house. He is a distiller of whisky, and boasts of gaining £300 per annum by the brewing of his poison. We talked very plainly; and I told him that it was of necessity, and not of choice, we were there; that I feared the face of no man. He said, he did not desire me to trouble myself about his soul. Perhaps the greatest offence was given by my speaking against distilling and slave holding.

Having now been upon expenses from *Friday* until this day, for four horses and three men, I judged it high time to move.

[69] Smith's Ferry was on the North Fork of the Holston River, near Moccasin Gap in Virginia, but near the Tennessee line.

[70] Thomas Amis kept a tavern three miles west of Rogersville. His stone house is still standing. (Martin.) Whatcoat says that they "arrived at Captain Eamie's near sunset, a place well prepared for travellers."

[71] On April 10 the party rode to Robert Bean's Station at the forks of the Cumberland and Kentucky roads in what Whatcoat called "Hukin (Hawkins) County near Clinch Mountain in Grassy Valley." (See Whatcoat's *Journal.*) His father, William Bean, was the first white settler in Tennessee. He established Bean's Station on a section of the Wilderness Road near Tate Springs; its site is now beneath Cherokee Lake. (Williams: *Dawn of Tennessee Valley History*, 337, 338; Kincaid: *The Wilderness Road*, numerous references.)

[72] Robert Bean was the son of the noted pioneer and founder of Bean's Station in Granger County.

[73] Jeremiah Abel was preacher on the West New River Circuit with Joseph Boddridge. (See *Minutes.*)

thirteen guns only. We moved on very swiftly, considering the roughness of the way, travelling, by my computation, thirty-five miles to-day.[90]

Kentucky

1790

Next day we reached Rich Land Creek,[91] and encamped on the road about nine o'clock at night, having made, by computation, forty-five miles.

Sunday, 9. We travelled about fifty miles; and next day forty-five miles, and reached Madison court house,[92] passing the branches of Rock Castle River: on our journey we saw the rock whence the river derives its name;[93] it is amazing and curious, with appearances the most artificial I have ever seen—it is not unlike an old church or castle in Europe. We stopped at McGuire's,[94] whose wife, now a tender, gracious soul, was taken prisoner by the Indians during the last war, and carried to Detroit.

9 May 1790

Tuesday, 11. Crossed Kentucky River. I was strangely outdone for want of sleep, having been greatly deprived of it in my journey through the wilderness; which is like being at sea, in some respects, and in others worse. Our way is over mountains, steep hills, deep rivers, and muddy creeks; a thick growth of reeds for miles together; and no inhabitants but wild beasts and savage men. Sometimes, before I am aware, my ideas would be leading me to be looking out ahead for a fence; and I would, without reflection, try to recollect the houses we should have lodged at in the wilderness. I slept about an hour the first night, and about two the last; we ate no regular meal; our bread grew short, and I was much spent.

I saw the graves of the slain—twenty-four in one camp.[95] I learn that

[90] Escorted by his armed guard, Asbury now started his first trip to Kentucky, accompanied by Richard Whatcoat, Hope Hull, and John Sewell. An old powder horn with large lettering, "Francis Asbury, May 1, 1790," was discovered at Medina, Ohio, in a collection made by a Kentucky physician. It is presumed to have been carried by Asbury on this trip, indicating that the Bishop was also armed. The route was tedious. The party traveled the old Wilderness Trail to Cumberland Gap and then over a narrow Indian trail.

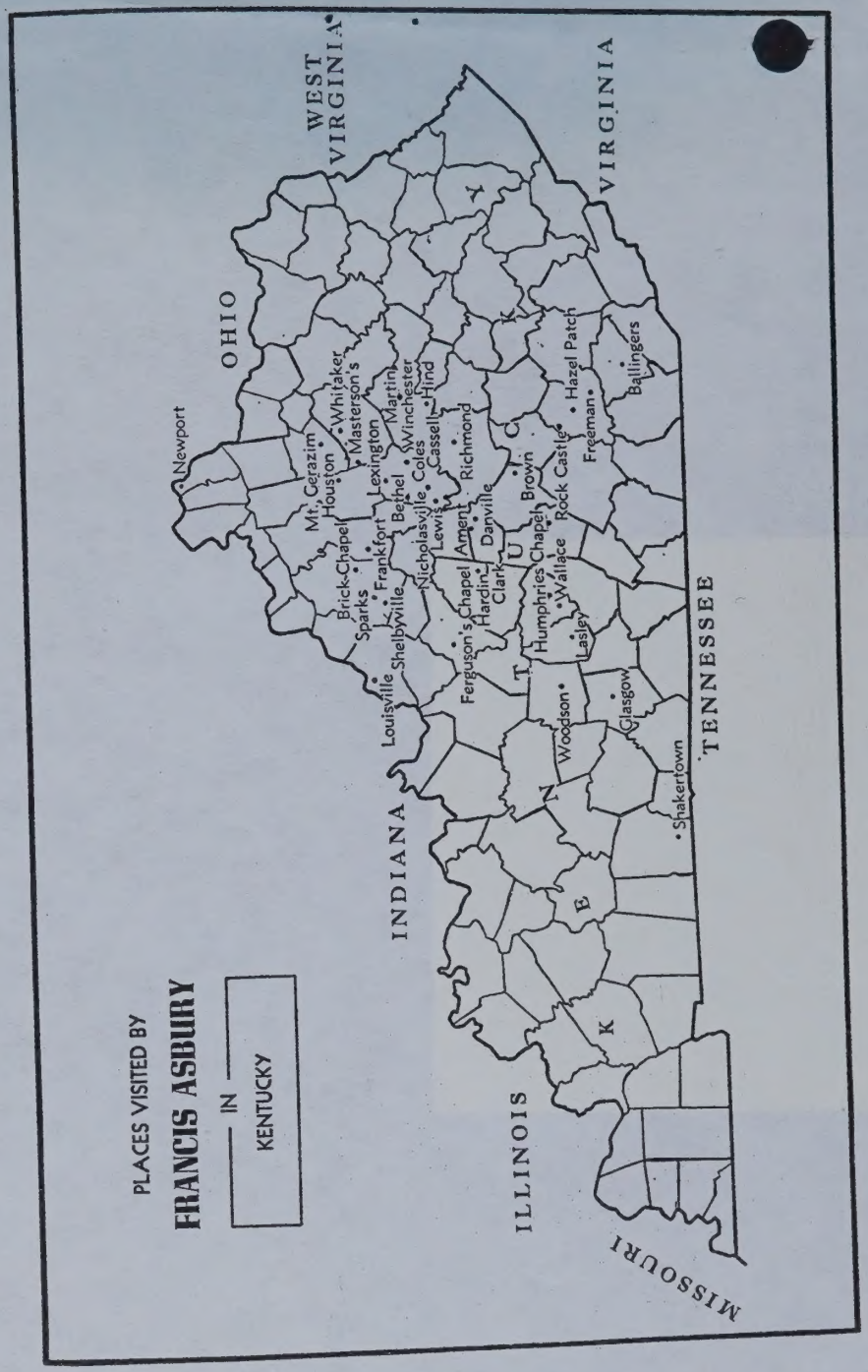
[91] Richland Creek is in Knox County. The party camped near the present town of Barbourville. Whatcoat says that they reached New Station near Cumberland Gap and spent the night at Joseph Lewis' on May 7, and rode to the Rich Valley on the eighth. (*Journal*, in Sweet, *op. cit.*, 100, 101.)

[92] Madison courthouse is the present Richmond, county seat of Madison County, Kentucky. On the ninth they rode to "near the Hazel Patch" and on the 10th to "Wm. Maguyer near Mattason Courthouse." (*Ibid.*, 101.)

[93] Rock Castle is in Laurel County, Kentucky, about four miles south of Livingston.

[94] Sweet, *op. cit.*, 101.

[95] Evidently the graves of the victims of what is known as "McNitt's Defeat," which occurred the night of October 3, 1786. Twenty-four persons were killed and scalped, and five women carried away. The leaders of the party were members of the McNitt, Ford, and Barnes families from Botetourt and Rockbridge counties in Virginia. The victims were buried at the camp site, and the graves are still preserved in the Levi Jackson State Park, near London, Kentucky. This camp site and the graves were fre-



Bishop Asbury was in same vicinity the Tooters were in and where the Griffitts had recently arrived. Perhaps (future Rev.) Samuel Griffitts listened to him.

GRIFFITH

In 1785 our James Griffith family had not yet crossed the mountain to KY/TN ~~[illegible]~~.

(By April 1787 still at Spring Place on Bale (now Mitchell Co. NC.) but we can learn a little.

In 1785 NC had not yet ceded TN to the US. ~~[illegible]~~ TN was just a County. Young the Nashville settlement for [illegible] anything, the state of NC was greatly lost to values of the Rev War.

The James Griffith family set to me by Billie + Allen next, was Griffiths Along the Mouse. Flat Creek (Mouse Co NC) was a tributary of the Mouse. But John Griffin - (confirmed fact) died during the Rev War — probably one of James's descendants.

NO LONGER THINK THESE Griffiths are DOPS.

North Carolina Land Grants in Tennessee (copied at Madison - will have to get reference #)

Middle District, 1788

2847 - Matthew Lock 5000 acres, both sides of No. Fork of Duck River

2849 - Richard Locke, 2000 " So. of Lytle Big Spring (See Building Neighborhoods p. 1 Architect Lytle.)

Davidson County (at that time most or all of Mero Dist.)

1788, 724 - James Locke 274 acres on Tennessee River (??)

1789 { 965 - " " " East Fork of Stone's River
1007 - Matthew Lock 428 " East " " "

I don't know what this has to do with John W. Griffith's uncle & aunt, Richard and Elender (Griffith) Lock. The first two entries were large grants in reward for serving as officers in the Revolutionary War. There were numerous locks, and all the families used the same first names so they must have been at least shirt-tail relatives. The TN/NC Locks and Grahams inter-married and were also related to the Allisons & Cathays. (1787 Madison Co "Virginia" (Kentucky) tax list includes a "Thomas Alleson," and Mary Graham by 1789 when the Griffiths came.)
Maybe these Locks were totally unrelated to "our" Richard. On the other hand, maybe Jonas Griffith went to Tennessee because his son-in-law & his son-in-law's relatives had land interests there. It appears Richard and Elender had a son whom they named Jonas Lock. Maybe Jonas Locke was in business, for he started a lot of lawsuits in Sumner County.

See the "Building Neighborhoods" Jackson Co TN section. I have referred monotonously to that 1824 Sumner Co TN lawsuit in which Perkins sued Gwinn and subpoenaed our David Dial as a witness. Now I have discovered that they also subpoenaed Joseph and William "Locke". See the 1811 entry immediately below "William Doyle's" entry. Joseph, William Lock & Mr Doyle (Dial?) are thus shown to be neighbors! Maybe David stayed with him a while??
Among the literate, well-fixed families of Logan Co, Ky — the spelling of Dial ranges from Dyal, Doyl, Doyal all the way to Doyle, as the grandson in Oregon spelled it.
And Griffey in Ky & the Carolinas seems to have been a common spelling of Griffith — probably how the locals pronounced it. (Even Mama said "Susanna Griffin.") It seems maybe the Dials and Griffiths met through the Locks.

Records of the Christian Church, continued

June Meeting LONG FORK 1822

Lucy Gammon by experience in baptism. Gemima Parker by experience in baptism. August Meeting 1822. Merdith York...Ruth Davis...Mary Gwinn...William Vincent..*(all)* by experience in baptism. May 1822. Daniel Low by experience in baptism. Fanny McWhorter baptised - removed by letter. Rachel Wilkenson by experience in baptism Long Fork June 29, 1822. William White is again restored, UNION Sept 1822. John Pinckley restored, UNION Sept 1822. Removed. Hul Wilkerson by experience. Joined at Mill Creek Sept. 1822. Baptised Long Fork meeting October 1822 removed has letter. Abraham Parker by experience in baptism, Long Fork, Oct. 1822. Pheby Parker by experience in baptism. Thomas Lovelady by experience in baptism. Removed having letter. Levi Gammon by experience in baptism. Petey Parker by experience in baptism Nov. 1822 Long Fork. Ann Ateman. Saley Temple *(both)* by experience in baptism.
mentioned in law-suit July 13-1854 Griffith vs Dixon

LONG FORK Metting December 1822

William Dewhitt by experience in baptism. Elisabeth Sophia Shrum by experience in baptism removed. Betey Jenkins by experience in baptism dismissed by letter Oct 23, 1824. Brother Jonas

LONG FORK Meeting April 1824

Agness P. Dewhitt by experience in baptism. Ridge night Wakefa?? June 21, 1824 Delilah Cornwell by experience in baptism. Franky Brown by experience in baptism. Meeting Salt Lick B. Jones Jan. 7, 1825. On the 3th Sunday in March 1845 John Bray and his wife joined ~~the Salt~~ Lick Church by letter. Letter of dismission July 20, 1828. State of Tenn. in Smith Co. the Christian Church of Christ in Salt Lick do hereby certify that Bro. V.N. (or N.N.) has been a member amongst us for several years, and lived with us in love and fellowship, is free from any immoralities known to us and is now about to remove - we, therefore, commend him to God and to the word of his grace, and to any society of Christians wheresoever he may hereafter reside. Signed by order of the church. Form of a certificate or letter of dismission.

use to be Barren Co.

UNION CHURCH state of Ky. Monroe Co., July 18, A.D. 1820

This is to certify that Brother L.M. has been a member among us for a number of years.....*(then follows the same form as above, a letter of dismission - Ed.)*

Old Bill belonging to Booker Witchers was excluded from the Christian body on May 4, 1826 for, first by falsly accusing Moses to his wife Hannah, secondly for saying, and gaynsaying, & falsely accusing and contradicting Bro. Brown and Moses in the evidence against him.

Records of the CHRISTIAN CHURCH, on SALT LICK of Baron River
Constituted by Bro. Jonas Griffith July 23, Anno Domini 1825 A.D. Latin
SALT LICK Church July meeting 1826

Brother Samuel Jones and Jeremiah Moser were appointed deacons. Henry MacWhorter clerk. Sept. meeting in 1826 the above brethren (viz.) Jones and Moore *(sic)* were ordained Deacons. The following is done away by a new incersion of membership. Names of the members of the Christian Church on Salt Lick constituted by B. Jonas Griffith July 23rd, A.D. 1825

Samuel Jones baptised. Betty Jones baptised. Barbary Jones baptised dispenced with of left us. Polly Been baptised. Betty Gist excluded for immoral conduct Oct. 1825. Winny Overstreet removed without letter. James Martin baptised and removed by letter. Henry Martin again removed. Franky Martin removed without letter. Jeremiah Moore removed by letter Oct. A.D. 1829. Betsy Moore returned and fellowshipped. Mary Spencer baptised. Elizabeth Broom baptised. Dicey Broom baptised. William

This contains many references to David Dial's brother John, during a time when David was already in Tennessee. John's descendants gradually adopted the spelling "Doyle" as surname.

LOGAN COUNTY, KENTUCKY

DEED ABSTRACTS

1813 - 1819

Our David was in Tennessee by this time

DIAL

ABSTRACTS OF

Deed Books
Volumes D, E, F, G

"Kentucky Court & Other Records" Vol II - Mrs. William B. Ardery (1965) GPC - MPL R929.3 A676

Linda Coleg (pg 58)

SMITH, HENRY—Bk. B.—Division—Henry and Christopher Smith, Extrs. Sept. 1789. Widow, Bellsarah; Henry Smith, Jr., (gdn.); Chloe Dial's legacy pd. to her husband, John Dial; Elizabeth, (gdn.) Liberty Smith (gdn.); (his mother, Margaret).

John Dial's wife & her parents

Abstracted by

Joyce Martin Murray
2921 Daniel
Dallas, Texas 75205

Index System by
Martin Richard Murray

David's brother John

DEED BOOK E

(1816) (p58)

beg near path leading from PARISHES to Elk lick, adj line of WILLIAMSON, tr lying on headwaters o: Elk lick creek & bounded by lands of sd Williamson, PARRIS, HARRISON and DOYLE.

Book F (388)

Page 146 Indenture 17 Jan 1818 HENRY FRIZELL and JOHN DOYAL, $400 pd, 232 acres beg below Mount Mariah meeting house, adj JOHN WILLIAMSON line and lying on head waters of Elk lick creek and bounded by lands of REUBEN EWING on the E, sd Williamson on N, J EDGAR & P HARRISON on W, A DAWSON & CU on South.

(p87)

DEED BOOK G

(1818)

HARRISON, other part, $1.00 pd, property as set out, names referred to being DANIEL M HURD, HARRISON, SAMUEL LINEBAUGH, SAMUEL OWENS, DOYLE Heirs, CHRISTIAN WELLER, WILLIAM D JACKSON; Negro man bought from THOMAS N GIST named JOHN, 1 Negro man bought of WILLIAM CAMPBELL, named Negro man RANDALL, 1 man FINCH, 1 man HAMPSHEAR, man named LINDSAY, 1 boy named JACK, 1 boy TILFORD, boy named JACK, boy named DAVID, woman named VANCE, girl NELLY, girl LUCINDA, girl MONA(?), girl child PATSY, girl child MARY. Wit: J T WRIGHT, TALIAFERRO RENO, RICHARDSON T G E EDWARDS, ROBERT A WRIGHT.

(p144)

Book G

Page 89 Annexed Deed 18 Feb 1819 URBIN EWING and REUBIN EWING (relationship not stated), one part, and JOHN DOYAL, other part, by Order from SPENCER CURD and SAML L CURD, to Ewings, tr being on Elk Lick creek, part of tr that includes Mount Moriah meeting house--199 acres is hereby sold. Release from Doyal to REUBIN EWING.

Page 91 Indenture Date & Grantors as above, one part, and CHATHAM EWING, BENJAMIN MILAM, URBIN EWING and JOHN DOYAL, Agents & Trustees for Mount Moriah congregation and meeting house, other part, tr on head waters of Elk Lick creek, adj JOHN DOYALL land, being 3 acres.

(p19)

Page 92 Instrument of Writing 9 Feb 1819 SPENCER CURD & SAML H CURD, one part, and M EWING & R EWING, in regard to 187 3/4 acres for which Curds got $6.00 per acre.

Page 352 Indenture 2 July 1819 JOHN DOYLE and ROBERT WITT, $334 pd, 55 3/4 acres on Elk Lick fork of Muddy river.

(p. 157)

Page 494 Indenture 25 Oct 1819 LAZARUS MASTERSON and JOHN DOYLE, $500 pd, tr of 232 acres, below Mount Moriah meeting house, tr being on head waters of Elk Lick fork and bound by REUBIN EWING on E & JOHN WILLIAMS on N, PINSON on S.

Page 495 Indenture 2 Aug 1819 JAMES A SMITH, first part, WILLIAM J MORTON, second part, and SPENCER CURD & JOHN FRAZER, third part, convey to sd Curd & Frazer in Trust, tr of 100 acres entered to sd Smith, tr on Muddy river where he now lives, copper still holding 77 gallons, 1 feather bed & furniture, etc, $121 owed.

Page 496 Indenture 28 Oct 1819 JOHN DOYLE and JAMES EDGAR, $700 pd, grant tr on head waters Elk Lick creek, being 232 acres, adj JOHN WILLIAMS line. Signed also by CASSA DOYLE, wife of s: John.

(p146)

Over the years John Dyal changed the spelling to Doyle!

"Men Whom I Remember" by George Blades (29) Oct 3 1897 (?)

crosses the town fork. The citizens of the town and many from the country assembled at the Methodist Church, where Edward Jones, then a young lawyer, delivered the oration of the day, acquitting himself in fine and gallant style, showing that he himself felt the force of the breathing thoughts and burning words which so eloquently fell from his lips. The audience then proceeded, led by the Artillery Company, commanded by Capt. Burgess, to the grove, where a large crowd had assembled, and, after partaking of a most sumptuous repast, the services of the day were closed by an address from Rev. Valentine Cook, who, in a masterly manner, recounted the inestimable blessing of civil and religious liberty. "These blessings have been bought with the price of blood and treasure," said he, "I have no unkind feeling toward the King, though if Jesus Christ were to come down on earth as a reigning King, I should meet him with open arms." Patriotism was beautifully mingled with religion throughout the entire address, which was listened to with marked attention by the large and intelligent audience. He seemed, in his closing remarks to have a premonition that this was his last 4th of July address, for, said he, "And now in conclusion, I wish to add a parting word to these old men, many of whom I recognize as gallant soldiers of the Revolution, and I talk to you, my venerable friends, as a brother would talk to a brother, and to you, my young friends, as a father would talk to a son. Let me say to you, young and old, that Fidelity to God, Loyalty to your Country and Generosity to your fellowman, are essential to peace on earth and happiness in Heaven." And thus while tears indicative of grateful emotions of the heart flowed from eyes unused to weep, he closed his last 4th of July address. And when Mr. Cook stepped down from the stand, the old men gathered around him, each eager to take him by the hand. Recognizing the situation and appreciating the motives which prompted this demonstration, he took each by the hand, and then, as if endowed with an unearthly spirit, said, "Now, brothers, we have fought the battle which has absolved us from allegiance to King George the 3rd, now let us fight the good fight of Faith, that we may become worthy subjects of King Emanuel. And now as we part on earth, let us meet in Heaven." Then Mr. Cook disappeared through the standing crowd, each of whom seemed anxious to catch every word as it fell from his lips. Mr. Cook was then quite an old man, and a few months after his death was announced, which fell like a pall throughout the community. Yes, he laid himself down to rest,

"Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

Sometime afterwards Rev. James Gwin, of Nashville, came over and preached his funeral to a large concourse of people. In his sermon he spoke of the Apostle Paul as having been a great and shining light to the Christian Church in its infancy, so was Valentine Cook to the M. E. Church. I have pleasant recollections of his son, Dr. Cook, who was also a preacher, though like many brilliant lights, died young. His youngest son, Richard, is remembered as a very clever, pious good man; and who, let me ask, that ever knew his daughter, Eliza, but loves to remember her for her dignified, Christian walk and conversation. She was a brilliant star in the bright galaxy of female Christians of Russellville and vicinity in the long ago. And now lest I weary the patience of some of your readers with recollections of that great and good man, whose name still lives and is held as precious in the memory, not only of the old people, but also the young, who have heard from the lips of their parents the pleasing story of his useful life, I turn my

Doyle (54)

District in which he lived. Though nature had made him an orator of high order, he was restrained by his unconquerable diffidence from hazarding himself often in public debate. He spoke but rarely, and then only on local subjects when forced forward by a high sense of duty; yet on one of these occasions, in the Assembly of Maryland, with so much force did he strike the House that the late Samuel Chase and several others of the most competent judges of eloquence in that body, crossed the floor of the House to congratulate him and to assure him that it rested with himself to become one of the most distinguished speakers of the age. But he was restrained by diffidence from profiting by this suggestion, and a man who may be justly pronounced to have been one of nature's happiest efforts, has now passed away, to be forgotten to the world--never will he be forgotten by the grateful heart from which this humble tribute flows; nor that excellent woman, who was the fit and happy counterpart of so extraordinary a man. They were both an honor to their spheres, ornaments to the Church to which they belonged, and are now among the spirits of the blessed who surround the throne on high. W. W."

Thus did the ready pen of that truly eminent man, William Wirt, write in memoriam of Benjamin Edwards; and it may not be amiss here to remark that the characteristic trait of diffidence to which he so beautifully alludes in the father, was strikingly illustrated in his son, Presley, who is known by me, as well as others, to have respectfully declined proffered honors. In 1830 a re-election to the State Senate, and in 1831 an election to Congress were assured him, but he declined. In 1832 the office of Circuit Judge was tendered him by Gov. Breathitt. This he also declined. The fact of Gov. Breathitt having married his niece, and having grown up together from boyhood like brothers, may have had something to do with his declining this proffered honor. This honor was no less complimentary to Mr. Edwards, coming as it did from one who knew him to be "honest, competent, and trustworthy."

The same family peculiarity has been observed in the worthy son of Presley Edwards, in the person of Judge G. T. Edwards, of whom it has often been said: "If he had put himself forward as others have done, he might have been Governor of the State, or in Congress long ago." And here let me remark that diffidence, which often controls the actions of many of our best and purest men, is the fruitful source of robbing the State and Nation of the services of the best men we have.

Number Twenty-three

Mr. Editor: Having been made the honored recipient of the following letter, I deem it worth while to ask you to kindly place it before your readers, believing they will partake of the pleasure I have experienced in its perusal:

Seattle, Washington Territory -- February 6th, 1878

Dear Sir: A letter from this far-off corner of the country may be unexpected to you, but I trust it will not be unwelcome. I shall begin by telling you who I am. You will remember my dear, good old father, John Doyle, who, for many years preceding his death, lived near Mount Moriah Camp-ground, some four miles West of Russellville. I am his fifth son, have been on this Northwest Coast for the last 26

This includes David Doyle's friend, Methodist Circuit Rider James Gwin (of Kentucky?) and David's brother John "Doyle" of Logan Cty.

its name and family, but you will see that the sea has its lawns, parks, groves, and forests. As we glide over the ocean and think of the world of beauty that lives beneath us, how our hearts should expand with love to the glorious Being who is so profuse with his favors. * * * * * * * Farwell, with God's blessing, R. L. Doyle

Little did I think in announcing my purpose a few weeks since to "strike out for tall timber," that my fingers would so soon be handling the exquisitely beautiful, delicate textures of the native products of the vast deep, several specimens of which accompanied the foregoing letter, which I shall carefully preserve and appreciate, not only because of their rare beauty and distant nativity, but as a present from a worthy son of a noble sire, one whom I shall ever love to remember. John Doyle was one of the early settlers of Logan. He is intimately associated as a friend and neighbor of my parents with my earliest recollections. My mind often reverts with pleasure to that noble band of devout Christians who worshipped in those early days at old Mount Moriah Meeting-house. Among them were Reuben and Chatham Ewing, Benj. Milam and his son Jervis, John Doyle, Wm. Parish, John Jervis, Henry Williamson, and others. These men were in the original organization of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church at Mount Moriah. They were all men of exemplary piety--none of them were burdened with this world's goods, yet by industry and economy, were good livers. They were frank, honest and generous people, hospitable to a fault, and, like the Scotch Highlander, felt

"That guidance and food and rest and fire,
In vain the stranger must never require."

And today it is ever a pleasure to meet with a descendant of those worthy men.

I cannot call up recollections of three more devout Christians than were Benjamin Milam, John Doyle, and Jervis Williamson, through life. Their chief concern in life was to prepare for death. Mr. Milam's sons and daughters have long honored the profession of religion his younger son, William, having been a minister of some distinction in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, while his older son, Jervis, if alive, has his eye still fixed on the prize reserved for the faithful. Miss Jane, his eldest daughter, has long since gone to her reward, which no one who ever knew her, doubts but that it is a rich one, for a more exemplary Christian lady I never knew.

While Mr. Doyle was a truly pious, good man, who, like Mr. Milam, was beloved by all who knew him, he was a man of extensive information-a man of far more than ordinary intellect. Fluent and instructive in conversation upon various subjects. I remember when quite a boy to have heard him in conversation with some gentlemen make the very homely though sage remark that "children think old people are fools, but old people know that children are fools, for they were once children themselves and can now see the folly of their youthful days." This remark was made long before "young America" promulgated the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty; long before that time-honored conventional rule which gave to the old people the right to "make rules and regulations" for the government of the young people was abrogated, though it would seem that his mind's eye was looking into the then distant future. Mr. Milam and Mr. Doyle both lived to advanced ages and died at their respective homes in Logan, each leaving a rich legacy of a good name to their children. Several of the children and grand-children of these truly good men still live in Logan. May they continue to tread in the footsteps of their worthy sires, that the future chronicler of the names of the good men and women of Logan may be able to say, it

I'm always glad to see you - was much glad the first time I ever saw you - and have often wanted to thank you for a kindness you done me the first time I ever met you." To which the young man replied: "I have no recollection of ever having done you any kindness to place you under obligations to me." To which the old man said: "I reckon you have forgotten it. When you were a little boy going to school down in the Hogan settlement, I was hired to Mr. Hill, and my wife was hired in town. Mr. Hill allowed me to come to see my wife, every Saturday evening, but wanted me to get back early Monday morning. Well, one morning I overslept myself, and my wife hated to wake me up, so I slept until after sun up, and started home, taking my breakfast in my hand, eating as I walked on. I had walked so fast that when I reached Col. Butler's farm I was just about broken down, when it happened that you came into the road just behind me, and was kind enough to ask me to get up on your horse and ride. I consented, and you slipped back and let me get up in front, and when we get to your turning off place, the other side of Whippoorwill, I stopped to get off, and when you said: "No; go on. I know the way round by Mr. Hill's. Well, in that way I got there in good time, ready to go to work; and I have loved you for it ever since." The man replied that "there was nothing in that act that ought to inspire such lasting gratitude - that he had done nothing but his duty, and was made glad at the time for the privilege of bestowing an act of kindness upon a fellow-being, though a stranger. The thing had entirely passed out of my mind, and I never until now knew that you had been the beneficiary of that little act."

The young man showed clearly that the little crumb of bread which when a boy he had cast upon the waters, had returned and was picked up unexpectedly, and that its sweetness was enhanced a hundred fold. The whole company seemed to realize that there was luxury in doing good to others.

Robin Baylor, for meritorious conduct towards his master, Mr. Baylor, of South Logan, an early settler, was emancipated while in the prime of life while at Russellville with his wife, who had also been emancipated. This worthy pair had the confidence and respect of the entire community .

And now memory calls up another very remarkable man, in the person of John Ashburn, or as he was most familiarly known, "John, the Baptist." He was the servant of the late Henry Ashburn, of Northwest Logan. I first heard him preach at the residence of Judge Reuben Ewing, about 1816 or '17, and again some years after at the residence of Capt. William Perkins. On each occasion he had large congregations, composed of both white and black. Ample sitting room had been provided under shade trees. He was a very popular preacher of the Baptist Church, and his indulgent master, though a Methodist, gave him all the time he asked to fill his numerous appointments. At his appointment at Capt. Perkins' he preached, as I believe he always did, with great power and energy. In the course of his remarks he quoted Paul's exhortation to children and servants - to be obedient to their parents and masters:

These might be greatchildren of Thomas Dial (David's nephews) but if so I cannot identify them.

Deed Abst of Warren Co KY 1812-1821 F 457 W2 M 872 (1982)

~~47 Dogal Gregory 30, Samuel 15, 17, 27~~ Dogal Edward 2, Gregory 25, 37

(John 125) Mahala 37 Mahaly 25, 37 Samuel 3, 25, 37

Thomas 47 (William 7 65, 7 22)

~~Dogal Gregory 20, Dogal John 4, 85 Wit~~ (Samuel 25)

(Not see)

~~49~~ pg 158 4 Feb 1816, Elizabeth Lacy to Thomas Dial for $150.00 NW of Bowling Green. 98 acres on N side of Barren River off E end of 200A entered (Short stream) flows into Barren R. in name of said Lacy, adjoining line of Wm Stewart. Wit: Zane (near Bethel Co line) (Grantee's name also shown as Thomas Dogal on back.)

37 pg 5?? 18__ 1814 Samuel Dogal Sr. + wife Mahala Dogal to Michael Clifford for $500.00, 100 acres on Green River. Wit: John Rountree, D Maxwell. (Mahala did not sign on ack. deed.)

25 (xxx? later)

~~2~~ pg 38 15 Feb 1812 Samuel Dogal to Edward Richardson, Davidson Co TN for $800.00 Edmund Dogal + Edward Stone referred to. 400 ac. on waters of Green R. conveyed. Wit: John Rountree, John Richardson, John Cox, David Maxwell, Ack bef. Hon Robertson Co Ct.

~~18~~ pg 248 16 Nov 1813 Thos Conway + w. Elizabeth to Samuel Dogal for $250, 1 acre on Green River. Wit: Zane

~~35~~ p 441 16 Jan 1812 Samuel + Gregory Dogal sued free of the 5 Warren Co. Ct Comm. only in 1812

→ Legacy Cy Obits 1819-1937 by Montgomery Hemphill F 457 L8 V36 (1996) pg 67 has obit of Warren Dial (1831-1906)

Ancestral Groups in Warren Co F 457 W2 A56 (1987) pgs 280 + 282 have only Dial groups including William's

Another Book

✓ Our David may have been in Jackson Co TN by this time

Warren Co Ky Marriages 1797-1851 F 457 W275

Pg 2 - 1799 - Dogal, William & Frank Bonegas 1799 by Thomas Williams

GRIFFITH

I No longer think these are our Griffiths!

Excerpts from Tennessee Land Entries, Military Bounty Land, Martin Armstrong's Office

by Dr. A. B. Pruitt (1996)
Call # F435 P788 at WI State Hist Soc, Madison WI
ISBN #0-944992-61-7

Book consists of three volumes arranged by entry number order in first and second volumes. The third volume deals with Glasgow Land Fraud papers arranged by a very complicated indexing system not easy to describe briefly. Last two excerpts from it (separate pagination).

Page in books/entry#/date/warrant#/text

522. 5524 continued. Jun 15 1785. warrant 1846? Following in Misc. re claims #1 in General Assembly Session Records 1801; Nov 8, 1800 Persons Co. Judith Minshew swears before James Wilson JP that her son Matthias went into the army and died in service and she had no son named William and Richard Minshew is heir-at-law of Matthias. Nov i 1800 Person Co. George Anderson swears before James Wilson JP that "Mathias" Minshew "of this place" served 9 months in SC and died in Charleston. Nov 17, 1800 Orange Co. Capt. John Griffin before Wm. Shepperd JP swears "Mathias Minsey" was a private for 9 months under Capt. Griffin. Copy of warrant #1846 enclosed issued to William "Minshaw" heir of Micajah Minshaw, warrant assigned Aug 18, 1785 by Richard Minshaw to David Robinson. Survey for 640 acres land located Oct 29, 1796 for David Robinson in Davidson Co in the ridge above "Lepers" of Harpeth R.; surveyed Sept.(blank) 1797 by Wm Nash. Following in Petions Rev. War box 3; David Robinson (Caswell Co) says on Aug 1785 he purchased the warrant issued to W Minshew; the Secretary said the warrant was among grants issued but no grant could be found; Secretary refuses to give up the warrant; "Mas. Minton" name is on muster roll mustered Jul 1,1779 for 9 months and omitted in following Oct but Robinson says Micajah died in service, so he asks for Secretary to be directed to issue grant.

(Note--this entry shows a Captain John Griffin still residing in the Orange/Persons Co NC area who obviously fought at Charleston SC during the first attempted British invasion, and that some of his men were killed, including young Minshew. It also demonstrates that one man's name could be spelled in a perplexing number of ways. Since Sylvan Griffith (early 1998)-sent Billie Pringle data-identified this region of NC as a probable place of residence of our Griffith family, this bears investigation--what connection had this Capt. John Griffin with Capt. John Griffith who died during the Rev. leaving widow Elizabeth (still shown there on later census) and son John Jr among others?)

Copy sent to Sylvan Sept 1998

543. 5716, Aug 26, 1785 warrant 2037 (no names) heirs of Pvt. Samuel Griffin 640 acres delivered to Capt. McNeese, 84 months, file #19, grant to John Rice. (For grant see file #311 in Davidson Co, MARS 12.14.2.311. Warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud.)

543. 5717. Aug 26, 1785 warrant 2038 (no names) heirs of Pvt. Nathaniel Nelson 640 acres delivered to Capt. McNeese, 84 months, file #44, grant to Jno. Rice, Abraham Risdon, & Elisha Rice (for grant see file #318 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.318; handwritten copy of grant #304 in TN Rev. War Warrants (roll 4) survey by Isaac Roberts, Thomas Jemmison and James Dill, chain carriers; warrant mentioned in Part 2 p. 69 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged.)

(I suspect chain carrier James Dill was much older brother of our David Dial/Dyall. James & Thomas Dyal V were early in Jackson Co TN & later of Logan Co. KY/Barren Co. Rices intermarried with Griffiths as did Risons--branch connected with Jonas Sr's son David.)

Excerpts from Tennessee Land Entries, Military County, and
Martin Ainsworth's office

by Dr. A. B. Pruitt (1956)
Copied 1985-1986 at WI State Hist Soc, Madison WI
[illegible]

Book consists of three volumes arranged by warrant number order in first and second volumes. The third volume deals with Glasgow land grant, arranged by a very complicated indexing system not easy to describe briefly. Last two excerpts from it (separate pagination).

Lace in book/entry/date/warrant/tax:

522. 1529 continued. Jun 15 1785. warrant 1946? following in Mad. re claims #1 in General Assembly Session Records 1801; Nov 8, 1800 Person Co. Judith Minshew swears before James Wilson Jr that her son Matthias went into the army and died in service and she had no son named William and Richard Minshew is heir-at-law of Matthias. Nov 1 1800 Person Co. George Anderson swears before James Wilson Jr that "Matthias" Minshew "of this place" served 9 months in SC and died in Charleston. Nov 17, 1800 Orange Co. Capt. John Griffith before me. Snapped if swears "Matthias Minsey" was a private for 9 months under Capt. Griffin. Copy of warrant 1896 enclosed issued to William "Minshew" heir of Matthias Minshew. Warrant assigned Aug 18, 1785 by Richard Minshew to David Robinson. Survey for 640 acres land located Oct 29, 1796 for David Robinson in Davidson Co in the ridge above "Lepers" of Harpeth R.; surveyed Sept.(blank) 1797 by Wm Nash. Following in Fentons Rev. War box 3; David Robinson (Caswell Co) says on Aug 1785 he purchased the warrant issued to M Minshew; the Secretary said the warrant was among papers issued but no grant could be found; Secretary refuses to give up the warrant; Mrs. Winton frame is on master roll mustered Jul 1, 1779 for 9 months and omitted in following out but Robinson says Minshew died in service, so he asks for Secretary to be directed to issue grant.

(Note--this entry shows a Captain John Griffin still residing in the Orange/Person Co NC area who obviously fought at Charleston SC during the first attempted British invasion, and that some of his men were Miller, including young Minshew. It also demonstrates that one man's name could be spelled in a perplexing number of ways. Since Sylvan Griffith (early 1930s)-most Hillie Pringle data-identified this region of NC as a probable place of residence of our Griffith family, this bears investigation--what connected had this Capt. John Griffin with Capt. John Griffith who died during the Rev. leaving widow Elizabeth (still shown there on later census) and son John Jr among others?)

5716. 5216. Aug 26, 1785 warrant 2037 (no names) heirs of Pvt. Samuel Griffin 640 acres delivered to Capt. Mckeese, 84 months, file #19, grant to John Pice. (For grant see file #311 in Davidson Co. MARS 12.14.2.311. Warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud.)

5717. 5217. Aug 26, 1785 warrant 2036 (no names) heirs of Pvt. Nathaniel Nelson 640 acres delivered to Capt. McKeese, 84 month, file #[illegible], grant to Jno. Nice, Abraham Riddon, & Elisha Rice (for grant see file #310 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.310; numbered also copy of grant #[illegible] in Rev. War Warrants (roll 4) survey by Isaac Robertson, Thomas Cammack and James Hill, chain carriers; warrant mentioned in Part 2 p. 89 of Glasgow land fraud; Soldier died's master, warrant assignment forged.)

(I suspect chain carrier James Hill was much older brother of our David Hill/Hyall; James & Thomas Hyal Y were early in Jackson Co TN & later of Logan Co. KY/Barren Co. Rices intermarried with Griffiths.)-did Rices--branch connected with Jonas Sr's son David.)

552. 5806. Sept 9, 1785 warrant 2125 (no names) heirs of Sgt. Samuel Griffis (or Griffin) 1000 acres as delivered to (blank) 84 months; file #45; grant to Jas. C. Montflorence (for grant see file #864 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.862; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 77 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged).

(What has this to do with entry #5716 and others in land fraud entries following last? Sometimes Samuel is a pvt, sometines a sgt, and did he even exist?and if he did, no indication he came to TN; Since Samuel appears to have been deceased by ~~1785~~, he cannot be the Samuel Griffith who testified in Davidson Co. court on 9? Jan 1789, State vs. Isaac Thomas. Though Griffith vouched for him, Thomas was found guilty of stealing a bull from Jacob Casselman.)

880. 8462. Feb 15, 1797 warrant 4779 (no names) heirs of Pvt. John Griffis; 84 months; file and grant (blan) "N.B." there were two John Griffis--written in warrant account; (2 John Griffis mentioned in Army Accounts--see N.C. Colonial & State Records vol 17, p 215, warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud.

893. 8580. Dec 7, 1797 warrant 5097 (no names) heirs of (Pvt.) John Griffin 640 acres delivered to Phil Hodges, 84 months, file and grant blank. warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud.

898. 8625. Dec 7, 1797 warrant 5142 (no names) heirs of (Pvt. Patrick Moore 640 acres delivered to (blank); 84 months; file and grant (blank) duplicate warrant in TN Rev. War warrants (roll 9) issued Jan 23, 1807 by J. Winchester, assigned (no date) (Person Co) by Patrick Moore Jr., heir, to Archd Lytle for $80 (Abraham Lee witness) and assigned Mar 23 1808 by Will Lytle, jr. for A. Lytle to John Griffith for $320 payable by Christmas (John Smith witness) who assigned Mar 23, 1808 to John Smith (Wm. Christmas witness) who assigned 127 acres to "Fardenand" Hamilton (John C. McLemore witness); grants issued #1303 for 101 acres to John Smith, cert 189 for 127 acres to Ferdenand Hamilton, #2899 for 40 acres both to John Bennett, cert 1028 for 200 acres & #3957 for 112 acres both to John Smith. warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud.

(Note--This is definitely our clan! These are Jennings Creek people. Not only that, there is a tenuous link to Person Co NC; also, John Bennett may be one of the Bennetts who shows up on the 1787 Burke Co. NC tax list by Captain Willian Niell --not Null, a misreading !

1065. 10065. (Following in TN Rev War warrants (roll 1)). copy of statement; Aug. 22, 1824. George Jemmison before Jones Griffin, JP, of Monroe Co. TN; George swears he served 2 years 9 months in "the" army of the US in Rev War and was "severely" wounded and has never applied for or drawn any "pention from the" Govt. (signed) Gorge Jameson" and Jonas Griffin.
(I doubt this one is ours.)

The following are from the land fraud papers, and less specific: (Part 2)

32. 3037. soldier: heirs Saml Griffin; 640 acres; assignment by Jacob Griffin to "blank"; mesne assignment; from N. Lassiter to Saml Allen, from Samuel Allen to Abraham Riston, John & Elisha Rice; warrant drawn by McNeese; surveyed for A. Riston, Jno & Elisha Rice; remarks: assignment probably forged, assignor marks without witness, granted to John Rice, not mustered, no evidence of Heirship, "etc."

552. #906. Sept 9, 1795 warrant #125 (no names) heirs of Sgt. Samuel Griffith (or Griffin) 1000 acres as delivered to (blank) 84 months; file #45; grant to Jas. C. Northiorence (for grant see file #264 in Davidson Co; MAR 12.14.2.862; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 77 of Glasgow Land Fraud; modist didn't master, warrant assignment forged).

(What has this to do with entry #5716 and others in land fraud entries following last? Sometimes Samuel is a pvt, sometimes a sgt, and did he even exist--and if he did, no indication he came to TN; since Samuel appears to have been deceased by 1785, he cannot be the Samuel Griffith who testified in Davidson Co. court on 27 Jan 1789, state vs. Thomas Thomas.alleged to have vouched for him. Thomas was found guilty of stealing a suit from Jacob Cassellman.)

880. #462. Feb 15, 1797 warrant #779 (no names) heirs of Pvt. John Griffin; 84 months; file and grant (blank) "N.B." there were two John Griffin--written in warrant account; (2 John Griffin mentioned in Army Accounts--see N.C. Colonial & State Records vol 17, p 215, warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud.

889. #520. Dec 7, 1797 warrant 5097 (no names) heirs of (Pvt.) John Griffin 640 acres delivered to Phil Ludger, 84 months, file and grant blank. warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud.

898. #5257. Dec 7, 1797 warrant 5442 (no names) heirs of (Pvt. Patrick Moore 640 acres delivered to (blank); 84 months; file and grant (blank) duplicate warrant in TN Rev. War warrants (roll 9) issued Jan 23, 1807 by J. Winchester, assigned (no date) (Person Co) by Patrick Moore Jr., heir, to Arnold Lytle for 50 Abraham Lee witness) and assigned Mar 23 1809 by Will Lytle, Jr. for A. Lytle to John Griffith for $320 payable by Christmas (John Smith witness) who assigned Mar 23, 1809 to John Smith (Wm. Christmas witness) who assigned 127 acres to "Fredenand" Hamilton (John S. Elsemore witness); grants issued #1303 for 101 acres to John Smith, part 189 for 127 acres to Fredenand Hamilton, #2892 for 40 acres both to John Bennett, part 1029 for 200 acres & #2952 for 112 acres both to John Smith. warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud.

(Hmm--This is definitely our client. These are Jennings Creek people. Not only that, there is a tenuous link to Person Co; also, John Bennett may be one of the Bennetts who shows up on the 1787 Burke Co. NC tax list by Captain William Hall --not Hall, a misreading, who

1065. 1006. (Following in TN Rev War warrants (roll 1)). copy of discharge; Aug. 22, 1824. George Jamison before Jones Griffin, JP, of Monroe Co. TN; George swears he served 2 years 9 months in "the army or the US in Rev War and was "severely" wounded and has never applied for or drawn any "pension from the" Govt. (signed) George Jameson" and Jones Griffin.
(I doubt this one is ours.)

The following are from the land fraud papers, and less specific: (part 2)

32. 3032. soldier; heirs Saml Griffin; 640 acres; assignment by Jacob Griffin to "Blank"; mesne assignment; from N. Leasiter to Saml Allen, from Samuel Allen to Abraham Histon, John & Elisha Rice; warrant drawn by Eliezer; surveyed for A. Histon, Jno & Elisha Rice; remarks: assignment probably forged, assignor marks without witness, granted to John Rice, not mustered, no evidence of relship, "etc."

Tennessee Military Bounty Land Entries--3

77. 2096. soldier: heirs Jacob Griffen; 640 acres assignment by Paul Griffen to N. Lassiter; mesne assignment; "several"; warrant drawn by Lassiter; surveyed for Rd. Fenner; remarks see No. 2102 above.
(Note: I didn't copy it. NZ)

? 77. 2125. soldier: heirs Saml Griffen; 1000 acres; assignment by Job Griffin to N. Lassiter; mesne assignment; Lassiter to J C Mountflorence; warrant drawn by McNees; surveyed for J. C. Montflorence; remarks see No 2102 above.

(I suppose Jacob and Job are thesame man but possibly his name as well as Samuel's was forged. I was too rushed with many things to copy everything, and don't know what the Glasgow land fraud was all about, but it was exceedingly extensive, taking up a whole book. Is it a coincidence that the Griffith Clan was ever so briefly living near present Glasgow, Barren Co. Kentucky? That may have nothing to do with this except the name Glasgow. See data from Sylvan Griffith to Billie Pringle early 1998)

The Index has many Griffen/Griffin/Griffis/Griffiths listed, plus more in the land fraud book not copied. I copied the ones referring to John, Samuel, and Jonas, all in text above. It shows others as follows, by entry, not page, number. (This includes the ones copied.)

First Names:

Allen 7655, 9935
Andrew 7306
Daniel 6766
Edmond 1191, 6777
Edward 3677D, 5070, 5864 , 9314?
Elizabeth 9354
Ezekiel 9705
Isaac 6098, 8447?, 8489, 8963
Jacob 5775
James 48 3, 2108, 4840
John 5524, 7655, 8462, 8580, 8625
Jones 10065
Joseph 1565-6, 7344
Joshua 6480
Josiah 6100, 9490
Laban 9044
Lemon 6020
Lydia 5070
Martin 483, 7144
Matthew 8953
Micajah 8983
Nancy 9354
Robert 9614
Spencer 6552
Roger 8098?
Samuel 5716, 5806, etc.
William 1649?, 4034, 8462
Henry 796, 2472, 2474, 2487, 6136

Copied hastily, so double-check ones with ? and the confusing index for land fraud cases, if these are desired. Sylvan's William was so young these probably have nothing to do with that generation

27. 2095. soldier: heirs Jacob Griffen; 640 acres assignment by Paul Griffen to M. Lassiter; means assignment; "several"; warrant drawn by Lassiter; surveyed for Rd. Penner; remarks see No. 2102 above.

(Note: I didn't copy it. MZ)

72. 2125. soldier: heirs Sam Griffen; 1000 acres; assignment by Job Griffin to M. Lassiter; means assignment; Lassiter to J. C. Mountflorence; warrant drawn by McNees; surveyed for J. C. Mortflorence; remarks see No 2102 above.

(I suppose Jacob and Job are the same man but possibly his name as well as Samuel's was forged. I was too rushed with many things to copy everything, and don't know what the Glasgow land fraud was all about, but it was exceedingly extensive, taking up a whole book. Is it a coincidence that the Griffith clan was ever so briefly living near present Glasgow, Barren Co. Kentucky? That may have nothing to do with this except the name Glasgow. See data from Sylvan Griffith to Billie Pringle early 1998)

The index has many Griffen/Griffin/Griffis/Griffith listed, plus more in the land fraud book not copied. I copied the ones referring to John, Samuel, and Jonas, all in text above. It shows others as follows, by entry, not page, number. (This includes the ones copied.)

Allen 7655, 9931
Andrew 7306
Daniel 6756
Edmond 1191, 6777
Edward 36770, 5070, 5864, 9314?
Elizabeth 9534
Gordial 9705
Isaac 5038, 8447?, 8489, 8963
Jacob 5778
James 4603, 2108, 4540
John 5524, 7655, 8462, 8580, 8653
Jones 1006?
Joseph 1505-6, 7344
Joshua 6480
Josiah 6100, 9490
Laban 9044
Lemon 8020
Lydia 5070
Martin 483, 7144
Matthew 8053
Micajah 5983
Nancy 9354
Robert 9414
Spencer 6552
Roger 8058?
Samuel 5716, 5806, etc.
William 1642?, 4034, 8462
Henry 798, 8472?, 2474, 2847, 8156

Copied hastily, so double-check ones with ? and the contrasting index for land fraud cases, if these are wanted. Sylvan's William was so young these probably involve William, Robert, or Henry.

Griffin / Griffis / Griffith

This may have nothing to do with our Griffiths but copied in case.
Pg 1065 JP "James Griffin" (revolutionary rat source b-fore)
sounds like our James Griffith Jr.

Glasgow land found mentioned - has that anything to do with the Barren Co. surveys?

Tennessee Land Entries

Military Bounty Land

Martin Armstrong's Office

Part 1, Location book (#3138-4839)

by Dr. A. B. Pruitt

ISBN #0-944992-61-7

from John Armstrong's office not a military warrant].

[Following in Miscellaneous concerning claims #1 in General Assembly Session Records 1801: Nov. 8, 1800 Person Co Judith Minshew swears before James Wilson, JP, that her son Matthias went into the army and died in service and she had no son named William and Richard Minshew is heir-at-law of Matthias. Nov. 8, 1800 Person Co George Anderson swears before James Wilson, JP, that "Mathias" Minshew "of this place" served 9 months in SC and died in Charleston. Nov. 17, 1800 Orange Co Capt. John Griffin before Wm Shepperd, JP, swears "Mathias Minsey" was a private for 9 months under Capt. Griffin. Copy of warrant #1846 enclosed issued to William "Minshaw" heir of Micajah Minshaw. warrant assigned Aug. 18, 1785 by Richard Minshaw to David Robinson. Survey for 640 ac land located Oct. 29, 1796 for David Robertson in Davidson Co in the ridge above "Lepers" of Harpeth R; surveyed Sept. [blank], 1797 by Wm Nash. Following in Petitions Rev. War box 3: David Robinson (Caswell Co) says on Aug. 18, 1785 he purchased the warrant issued to W Minshew; the Secretary said the warrant was among grants issued but no grant could be found; Secretary refuses to give up the warrant; "Mas Minton" name is on muster roll mustered Jul. 1, 1779 for 9 months and omitted in following Oct; but Robinson says Micajah died in service; so he asks for Secretary to be directed to issue grant.]

5525. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1847 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Owen Smith 640 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 84 months; file #44; grant to Thos Johnston; [for grant see file #356 in Tennessee Co; MARS 12.14.19.355; handwritten copy of grant #2186 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 3), survey by Thos Johnson, Benjn Hardon and Jacob Hardon chain carriers, (on back) Jul. 24, 1833 invalid grant calls to joins #2442 to P Shackler which is "identified" refer to minutes book (signed) Sam Smith;

handwritten copy of deed registered Mar. 26, 1795 in Tennessee Co: Oct. 2, 1795 Thomas "Johnson" (Tennessee Co) to Andrew Miller (Logan Co, KY); for £100 sold 640 ac in Tennessee Co on waters of Sulpher fork of Red R; border: joins Philip Shackler's NW corner as assignee of Abraham McAdams; grant #2188 issued May 20, 1793 to Thomas Johnson; (signed) Thomas Johnson; acknowledged Jan. 1795 by T Johnson; recorded in Montgomery Co;

handwritten copy of deed: Jun. 20, 1796 Andrew Miller (Logan Co, KY) to John Irwin (Davidson Co, TN); for £96 sold 640 ac in Robertson Co on waters of Sulpher fork of Red R; border: joins Philip Shackler's NW corner "as assignee"; grant #2186 issued May 20, 1793 to Thomas Johnson; (signed) Andrew Miller; witness James Dranigoal, George Briscoe, & Thomas Johnson; recorded Oct. 21, 1796 in Robertson Co;

warrant number mentioned in part 2 p. 108 of Glasgow land fraud, but this is warrant from John Armstrong's office not a military warrant].

5526. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1848 Pvt. John Salter 457 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 60 months; file #19; grant to John Nichols; [for grant see file #426 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.426; warrant number mentioned in part 2 p. 108 of Glasgow land fraud, but this is warrant from John Armstrong's office not a military warrant].

5527. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1849 [Pvt.] Jonathan Low "infirm" 640 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 84 months; file #29; grant to John Lee, "(2) file 49"; [for grant see file #1051 in Sumner Co; MARS 12.14.18.937; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 87 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier mustered, grant without warrant].

5528. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1850 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] James Waggoner 640 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 84 months; file #29; grant [sic] to Thomas Taylor; [for survey see file #0119 in Sumner Co; MARS 12.14.18.1477; duplicate warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 3), issued Mar. 12, 1808 and judged valid by "former" Board of Commissioners and issued to Thomas Taylor due to act of Assemby Nov. 30, 1807; warrant number mentioned in part 2 p. 108 of Glasgow land fraud, but this is warrant from John Armstrong's office not a military warrant].

5529. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1851 [no names] heirs of Pvt. John Allen Tharp 640 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 84 months; file #16; grant to Burwell Green; [for grant see file #2295 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.2290;

This shows Capt John "Griffin" stile in Orange Co NC in 1800.
(Could be Capt John Griffith of Surry Co)

warrant number mentioned in part 2 p. 108 of Glasgow land fraud, but this is warrant from John Armstrong's office not a military warrant].

5530. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1852 William Clark, heir of [Pvt.] James Clark, 640 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant number mentioned in part 2 p. 108 of Glasgow land fraud, but this is warrant from John Armstrong's office not a military warrant].

5531. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1853 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Thomas Paddin 640 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 84 months; file #12; grant to Lancelot Johnston; [for grant see file #346 in Tennessee Co; MARS 12.14.19.345; warrant number mentioned in part 2 p. 144 of Glasgow land fraud, but this is warrant from John Armstrong's office not a military warrant].

5532. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1854 Pvt. Anthoney Godfry jr 274 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 36 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 3), assigned Oct. 15, 1785 by Anthony Godfrey jr to Matthew McCauley (Saml Craig and Stephen Loyd witness) who assigned (dark) 7, 1803 to James McCauley (Sam Love and Robert T Daniel witness) who assigned Mar. 2, 1807 to Thomas Matthews (Jonathan Melugin, John McCauley, & George Clark witness); warrant number mentioned in part 2 p. 108 of Glasgow land fraud, but this is warrant from John Armstrong's office not a military warrant].

5533. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1855 Pvt. Thomas Castles 274 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 36 months; file #26; grant to Wm Sheppard; [for grant see file #507 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.507; warrant number mentioned in part 2 p. 108 of Glasgow land fraud, but this is warrant from John Armstrong's office not a military warrant].

5534. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1856 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Daniel Campbell jr 640 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 84 months; file #7; grant to Danl Campbell's heirs; [for grant see file #464 in Sumner Co; MARS 12.14.18.326; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 13 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't mustered].

5535. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1857 [Pvt.] William Clower "wounded" 640 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 84 months; file #29; grant [sic] to Michl Robeson; [for survey see file #0110 in Sumner Co; MARS 12.14.18.1468; warrant number mentioned in part 2 p. 109 of Glasgow land fraud, but this is warrant from John Armstrong's office not a military warrant].

5536. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1858 Pvt. Jacob Boston 228 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 30 months; file #4; grant to Jacob Boston; [for grant see file #1524 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.1520; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5537. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1859 Pvt. Andrew "Bostian" 228 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 30 months; file #50; grant to Thos Molloy; [for grant see file #2337 in Davidson Co, MARS 12.14.2.2330; for second grant to Andrew Bostian see file #1016 in Davidson Co, MARS 12.14.2.1013; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5538. Jun. 15, 1785 warrant 1860 Capt. William Williams 3,840 ac delivered to Col. Lytle; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; duplicate [warrant] issued per resolve of Assembly Jan. 31, 1837 [sic]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud;

following in Petitions 2nd folder in box 5 Gen. Assembly Session Records 1837: Oct. 26, 1826 Nashville, TN Jesse Blackfan and M H Howard say "sometime" in 1835 James Hart of NC and they bought a land claim for Capt. William Williams' service in the Rev. War; warrant has issued; hey have asked the TN Assembly to pass an act authorizing a duplicate warrant, but they have failed; so they ask the NC Assembly to pass such a resolution.]

Griffith

522, 543, 552,

762, 880, 873, 898

1065

Dr. A. B. Priest

Post-it® Note

Post-it® Note

warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5709. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2030 [no names] heirs of Pvt. William Owens 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #34; grant to Thos King; [for grant see file #903 in Hawkins Co; MARS 12.14.9.902; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5710. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2031 [no names] heirs of Pvt. George Taigan (or Faigan) 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #4; grant to Joseph McDowell; [for grant see file #1529 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.1525; grant #1086 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4), Jul. 23, 1807 certificate issued for 276 ac so grant vacated for that amount (signed) J Winchester;
survey included, land located Dec. 27, 1788, surveyed Dec. 28, 1788 by John Buchanan, Jason Thompson and Elisha "Bruer" chain carriers;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5711. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2032 [no names] heirs of Pvt. George "Sevagot" 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4), assigned Aug. 31, 1785 by James Sevagot, heir of G Sevagot, to Nathn Lassiter who assigned Sept. 26, 1785 to James Cole Mountflorence (Richd Fenner witness) and assigned (no date) by A Crutcher, for self & J C Mountflorence, to Wikoff & Clark and assigned Jan. (smudge) by Lardner Clark to (smudge) "Tuneer" (Ho Tatum witness);
two copies of survey included, land located Jan. 17, 1786, surveyed for William Wickoff jr Jul. 20, 1790 by A Foster, John Curtis and William Everett chain carriers;
warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 28 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster].

5712. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2033 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Robert Hutchins 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #45; grant to Jas C Montflorence; [for grant see file #301 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.301; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 78 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5713. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2034 [no names] heirs of Pvt. John Stephenson [or Stevenson] 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #30; grant to Wm L Bledsoe [sic]; [for grant to William Lytle see file #758 in Sumner Co; MARS 12.14.18.620; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5714. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2035 [no names] heirs of Pvt. John Cameron 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [copy of locations in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4): Nov. 2, 1810 location #5425, warrant 2035 James Roper, assignee of "George" Cameron's heirs, 40 ac (part of warrant) in Wilson Co on waters of Spring Cr, begins at SW corner of Martin Talley's 30 ac where Wm Clifton lives, runs W to a tract entered in Thos Sypret's name, & N, John "Impson" (locator);
Nov. 2, 1810 location #5423, warrant 2035 James Roper, assignee of "George" Cameron's heirs, 50 ac in Wilson Co on waters of Burtons Cr, begins at Saml W Sherrell's E boundary where it intersects Davis' line, runs E 100 poles, & S, John Impson (locator);
Nov. 2, 1810 location #5424, warrant 2035 James Roper, assignee of "George" Cameron's heirs, 100 ac in Wilson Co on waters of Burtons Cr, begins at George Tucker's SE corner, runs S 160 poles, & E, John Impson (locator);
warrant included after locations, assigned Sept. 9, 1785 by George Cameron to Richard Thomas who assigned Sept. 21, 1785 to James Roper;
warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 59 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged; warrant taken to Tennessee in 1801 by William Christmas].

5715. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2036 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Walter White 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese;

1785 very early

84 months; file #45; grant to Wm McNeley; [for grant see file #521 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.521; handwritten copy of grant #493 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4), recorded in Sumner Co; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 78 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5716. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2037 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Samuel Griffin 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #19; grant to John Rice; [for grant see file #311 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.311; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5717. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2038 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Nathaniel Nelson 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #44; grant to Jno Rice, Abraham Risdon, & Elisha Rice; [for grant see file #318 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.318; handwritten copy of grant #304 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4), survey by Isaac Roberts, Thomas Jemmeson and James Dill chain carriers; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 69 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5718. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2039 [no names] heirs of Pvt. John Willoughby 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #40; grant to Reading Blount, assignee of Nathan Willoughby; [for grant see file #939 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.937; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 66 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5719. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2040 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Solomon Wood 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #8; grant to Reading Blount; [for grant see file #439 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.439; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 16 of Glasgow land fraud; warrant assignment "suspected" to be forged].

5720. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2041 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Christopher Wolf 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #40; grant to Reading Blount; [for grant see file #900 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.898; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 66 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5721. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2042 [no names] heirs of Pvt. "Fradrick" Brown 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #29; grant [sic] to John White; [for survey see file #078 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.2543; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 58 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5722. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2043 [no names] heirs of Pvt. John Hardy 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #34; grant [sic] to Reading Blount; [for survey see file #028 in Middle Dist; MARS 12.14.4.640; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5723. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2044 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Daniel "Monhouse" 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #45; grant to Jas C Montflorence; [for grant see file #293 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.293; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 78 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5724. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2045 [no names] heirs of Pvt. John "Bartlie" 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #4; grant to Joseph McDowell; [for grant see file #1517 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.1513; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5725. Aug. 26, 1785 warrant 2046 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Moses Easten 640 ac delivered to Capt. McNeese; 84 months; file #12; grant to William Wikoff; [for grant see file #347 in Tennessee Co; MARS 12.14.19.346; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

This shows that Pvt Samuel (early to Davidson Co) died soon. His name was forged on Military Land Warrant in name of his son Jacob or Job & other heirs. See other entry

5803. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2122 [no names] heirs of Pvt. James Fulsher jr 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #45; grant to David Shelby; [for grant see file #537 in Sumner Co; MARS 12.14.18.399; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 77 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5804. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2123 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Peter Furney [or Farney] 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #42; grant to Mary Allen; [for grant see file #376 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.376; grant #348 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4, after #2124);
survey included, land located Dec. 7, 1785, surveyed Jul. 15, 1786 by Ro Nelson, Job Routh and John McClure chain carriers;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5805. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2124 [no names] heirs of Pvt. James Grace 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #45; grant to Philip Phillips and Michael Campbell; [for grant see file #72 in Tennessee Co; MARS 12.14.19.71; handwritten copy of grant #1315 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4), land located Jul. 25, 1790, surveyed Jul. 28, 1790 by George Walker; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 75 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5806. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2125 [no names] heirs of Sgt. Samuel Griffis [or Griffin] 1,000 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #45; grant to Jas C Montflorence; [for grant see file #864 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.862; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 77 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5807. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2126 [no names] heirs of Pvt. William Groves 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #24; grant to William Allen; [for grant see file #327 in Tennessee Co; MARS 12.14.19.326; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 51 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5808. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2127 [no names] heirs of Sgt. Jonathan Harrison 1,000 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #45; grant to Jas C Montflorence; [for grant see file #335 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.335; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 77 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5809. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2128 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Barnard "Helen" 640 ac delivered to Jno McNeese; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4), assigned Sept. 16, 1785 by Peter "Heler", heir of B Heller, to Nath Lassiter who assigned Sept. 26, 1785 at Halifax to James Cole Mountflorence (Richd Fenner witness) and assigned Jul. 30, 1790 by "George Walker" to J C Mountflorence (Wm A "Pease" witness), "in page 125 not surveyed" (written on back); warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 65 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster; warrant taken to Tennessee in 1801 by William Christmas].

5810. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2129 [no names] heirs of Pvt. William Harris 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #42; grant to John Rice, Abraham Risdon, & Elisha Rice; [for grant see file #310 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.310; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 67 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier mustered, warrant assignment forged].

5811. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2130 [no names] heirs of Sgt. Warburton Hubbard 1,000 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4), assigned Oct. 27, 1785 by Tobias Hubbard, heir of W Hubbard, to Reading Blount (J McNees witness) "reserved for location M A" (on back);
copy of location #1429, warrant 2130 Sept. 23, 1785 Phillip Phillips & Michael Campbell, assignees of W Hubbard, 1,000 ac on E side of Caney fork, begins about 20 poles above McNeeley's station camp and runs up Caney fork; Isaac Lindsey (locator); survey by Wm Nash; copy certified by Randal McGavock, clerk Mero

This time Samuel Griffis called Sgt on fake warrant after he died.

Dist. Superior Court;
warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 87 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier mustered for only 3 years; warrant taken to Tennessee in 1801 by William Christmas].

5812. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2131 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Richard Howard 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #45; grant to Jas C Montflorence; [for grant see file #8 in Tennessee Co; MARS 12.14.19.8; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 76 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5813. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2132 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Abraham Jacobus (or Jacobs) 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #24; grant to Anthony Head Bledsoe; [for grant see file #701 in Sumner Co; MARS 12.14.18.562; grant #2073 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4), Aug. 21, 1807 certificate issued for 640 ac so grant void (signed) J Winchester;
survey included, land located Mar. 20, 1786, surveyed Oct. 7, 1792 by G Winchester, Isaac Bledsoe and Joseph Desha chain carriers;
warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 51 of Glasgow land fraud; warrant assignment forged].

5814. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2133 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Matthew Lively 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #45; grant to Hopkins Lacy; [for grant see file #301 in Tennessee Co; MARS 12.14.19.300; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 77 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5815. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2134 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Joshua "Larouse" 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #30; grant to William Lytle; [for grant see file #743 in Sumner Co; MARS 12.14.18.605; grant #2140 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4), grant to William Lytle, assignee of "John Laurens", Aug. 21, 1807 certificate issued for 640 ac so grant vacated (signed) J Winchesater;
survey included, land located Mar. 20, 1786, surveyed Oct. 2, 1792 by G Winchester, Isaac Bledsoe & Peter Fisher chain carriers;
May 15, 1807 Edward Mitchell, deputy of William Christmas, certifys he searched for grant #2140 but can't find it due to vagueness of "location" and surveyor is dead; Will Lytle certifys he asked E Mitchell to look for the land in grant #2140; May 26, 1807 Wilson Co, TN, E Mitchell before Wm Buble JP certifys above statements are true;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5816. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2135 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Matthew Levi 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #45; grant to John Drew; [for grant see file #249 in Sumner Co; MARS 12.14.18.112; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 78 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5817. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2136 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Nicholas Moore 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #8; grant to Alexr Allen; [for grant see file #649 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.649; warrant mentioned in part 2 p. 15 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

5818. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2137 [no names] heirs of Pvt. William Mathews 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file #12; grant to Ebenezar Alexander; [for grant see file #1865 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.1859; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

5819. Sept. 9, 1785 warrant 2138 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Abraham Mott (or Motts) 640 ac delivered to Jno McNeese; 84 months; file #30; grant [sic] to William Hughlett; [for survey see file #042 in Middle Dist; MARS 12.14.4.654; grant #2423 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4), recorded in Overton Co, Jul. 25, 1807 certificate issued for 640 ac so grant vacated (signed) J Winchester;
survey included, land located Sept. 9, 1785, surveyed Aug. 10, 1792 by Jas Maybury, James Cunningham and Francis Gentrey chain carriers;

7655. Dec. 9, 1796 warrant 3972 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] John Griffis 640 ac delivered to Elisha "Harison"; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 6), assigned Mar. 9, 1796 by Allen Griffis (Wake Co), eldest brother & heir of J Griffis, to Elisha Harrison (of Halifax Co) (Wm Seawell and B Seawell JP witness) who assigned Aug. 25, 1796 to John Vincent (Wm Tomlinson & Wm Young witness) who assigned Oct. 6, 1801 to "Theofilus" Bass (Jno L Martin witness) who assinged Aug. 8, 1806 to John Winford (Charles Odam ? witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

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7656. Dec. 9, 1796 warrant 3973 [no names] heirs of Lt. Nathan B Williams 2,560 ac delivered to Ben Williams, the heir "of Onslow"; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 6), (Onslow Co) Sept. 1, 1796 Benjamin Williams, heir, assigns half to Lott Battle; warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 83 of Glasgow land fraud; warrant "good"; warrant taken to Tennessee in 1801 by William Christmas].

7657. Dec. 9, 1796 warrant 3974 Pvt. Thomas Bennet 228 ac delivered to Jo Williams; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 6), assigned Mar. 30, 1797 by Wm Christmas, attorney for T Bennett, to Charles Ready who assigned Apr. 17, 1797 to Robert White who assigned Jun. 20, 1797 to Zachius Wilson (David Wilson witness) who assigned Nov. 2, 1797 to James Wilson; warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 84 of Glasgow land fraud; warrant "good"; warrant taken to Tennessee in 1801 by William Christmas].

7658. Dec. 9, 1796 warrant 3975 Pvt. William Williamson 228 ac delivered to Jo Williams; 30 months; file #[blank]; grant to Yancy Thornton; [for grant see file #1441 in Sumner Co; MARS 12.14.18.1330; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

7659. Nov. 24, 1796 warrant 3976 Pvt. Martin Black 274 ac delivered to A Johnston esq; 36 months; file #46; grant to Geo Ward; [for grant see file #617 in Tennessee Co; MARS 12.14.19.614; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

7660. Nov. 24, 1796 warrant 3977 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Collier Gott [or Goll] 640 ac delivered to A Johnston esq; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 6), assigned Dec. 13, 1797 by "Clo Zary" (or Lory), heir, to James "Coman" who assigned Jan. 3, 1804 to Robert Coman (Thomas Dillon witness), Aug. 20, 1804 Thomas Dillon warrants this to be a "geneine" warrant; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

7661. Nov. 24, 1796 warrant 3978 [no names] heirs of Pvt. John Hopston 640 ac delivered to A Johnston esq; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 6), assigned Nov. 21, 1796 (sic) (Jones Co) by Frans. Hopston, heiress, to Amos Johnston (Jacob Johnston JP witness) who assigned Dec. 15, 1796 to Charles Mundine who assigned Jan. 27, 1797 to Sampson Williams (Jas Chappell witness);

Onslow Co court Oct. 1801 term Adam Trott swears he knew John Hopston, "late" soldier in NC line, he saw Hopston in service in Wilmington, he had "good reason" to believe Hopston drown at "old town" Point while in service; at same time & place Capt. Richard Jones swears he knew John Hopston, late soldier, who enlisted in Swansborough and was drown in service; Oct. 12, 1801 Nathaniel Loomis, Onslow Co clerk, certifys A Trott & R Jones made these statements; (Jones Co) Jacob Johnston and Amos Johnston give witness oaths for warrant assignments; Jones Co court Nov. 10, 1801 William Orme clerk, certifys J Johnston & A Johnston made their statements;

warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 82 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster; warrant taken to Tennessee in 1801 by William Christmas].

7662. Nov. 24, 1796 warrant 3979 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Simmons Harrison 640 ac delivered to A Johnston

in 1796 Allen Griffis of Wake Co NC, brother & heir of Pvt John Griffis 640 acre 7th military warrant, assigns it to others.

esq; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 6), assigned (Jones Co) Aug. 15, 1797 by "Wm" Harrison to Amos Johnston; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

7663. Nov. 24, 1796 warrant 3980 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Lamuel Moore 640 ac delivered to A Johnston esq; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4, after #1995, sic);

Sept. 1, 1796 New Bern, Craven Co, NC Sarah Locker before Jno L Smith swears Jesse Moore is heir and oldest brother of Lemuel Moore deceased who was a soldier and died in service; warrant assigned Sept. 2, 1796 by Jesse Moore to Amos Johnston (Wm Orme JP witness) who assigned Dec. 15, 1796 to Charles Mundine;

Sept. 2, 1796 Jesse Moore to Amos Johnston; power of attorney to receive warrant due to Lemuel Moore's heirs. (signed) J Moore's mark "J"; witness Wm Orme; Jun. 26, 1796 John Davis, "late" captain of NC line, John Craddock, "late" captain of 2nd NC Regiment, & W Slade, "late" Lt. in 1st NC Regiment, certify "Lamuel" Moore was soldier in Continental line and died in service in 1778;

warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 83 of Glasgow land fraud; warrant "good"; warrant taken to Tennessee in 1801 by William Christmas].

7664. Nov. 24, 1796 warrant 3981 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Hancock Nichols 640 ac delivered to A Johnston esq; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 4, after #3980 which is after #1995): warrant assigned Nov. 8, 1796 in Onslow Co, NC by Sarah Nichols, heir of H Nichols, to Amos Johnston (Zach Barrow JP witness) who assigned Dec. 15, 1796 to Charles Mundine who assigned Jan. 27, 1797 to Sampson Williams (Jas Chappell witness) who assigned Jan. 28, 1797 to John Battey; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

7665. Nov. 24, 1796 warrant 3982 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Jonathan Prescot 640 ac delivered to A Johnston esq; 84 months; file #45; grant [sic] to Robt Weakley; [for survey see file #042 in Robertson Co; MARS 12.14.14.50; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

7666. Nov. 24, 1796 warrant 3983 [no names] heirs of Pvt. William Sanderson 640 ac delivered to A Johnston esq; 84 months; file #50; grant to Jas Gillingham; [for grant see file #560 in Tennessee Co; MARS 12.14.19.557; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

7667. Nov. 24, 1796 warrant 3984 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Daniel Turner 640 ac delivered to A Johnston esq; 84 months; file #45; grant to Robt and Saml Weakley; [for grant see file #2365 in Davidson Co; MARS 12.14.2.2355; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

7668. Nov. 24, 1796 warrant 3985 Pvt. Abram Fardwell [or Fardevell] 228 ac delivered to P Collier esq for Thos Shute; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 6), assigned Jan. 12, (blank) by Rebecah Fardwell to Thomas Shute (John Isnzer ? witness) who assigned Jan. 24, 1797 to Jno Gatlin (S Gatlin witness) who assigned Jan. 25, 1797 to Saml Marsom who assigned (no date) to John Gwin; warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 75 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged; warrant taken to Tennessee in 1801 by William Christmas].

7669. Nov. 24, 1796 warrant 3986 Pvt. Arthur Whitley 228 ac delivered to John Gray Blount esq; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 6), assigned (no date) by Arthur "Watley" to John Gray Blount (Fredk Grist witness) and (no date) Arthur Whitley before Fredk Grist JP swears he never assigned the warrant to anyone but J G Blount, assigned Aug. 24, 1797 by Arthur Whitley to John Baker (William Tyrrell & Allen Brewer witness) who and Aug. 24, 1797 W Tyrrell says he will warrant Jno Baker's right to the warrant; warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 82 of Glasgow land fraud; warrant "good to owner"].

8460. Feb. 15, 1797 warrant 4777 [Pvt.] Jesse Moore 228 ac delivered to A Johnston esq; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Jun. 9, 1798 by "A Johnston" to Stephen Saunders and assigned Sept. 11, 1799 by James Jackson, attorney for S Saunders, to John "Dillihunty" sr (Thos Dillahunty witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8461. Feb. 15, 1797 warrant 4778 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Benjamin Skipper 640 ac delivered to Jacob Gaster; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Dec. 12, 1797 by John Walch, for heirs, to Philemon Hodges (Thomas Mathes witness) who assigned Apr. 18, 1806 to John Armstrong and assigned Feb. 16, 1807 by Armsted Blevins, for J Armstrong, to Nathaniel Taylor (Henry Miller witness), Jan. 20, 1807 power of attorney by John Armstrong (of White Co) to Armsted Blevins to sell warrant #4778; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8462. Feb. 15, 1797 warrant 4779 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] John Griffis 640 ac delivered to Wm Griffis; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; "N B" there were two John Griffis--written in warrant account; [2 John Griffis mentioned in Army Accounts--see N. C. Colonial & State Records vol. 17. p. 215; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8463. Feb. 15, 1797 warrant 4780 Pvt. Wm Stuart 274 ac delivered to Mr. Rd Freer for Seth Peebles; 36 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Jul. 3, 1799 by William Stuart to James Cummins (Seth Peebles & Turner Harris witness) who assigned May 25, 1807 to David Shannon (D McGavock witness), another assignment Jul. 18, 1799 lined out; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8464. Feb. 15, 1797 warrant 4781 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] George Cox 640 ac delivered to M Brookes esq; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant number mentioned in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1), but warrant (not dated) is to "Heniah" Gilmore for 120 ac due to location #310 with surveyors S and W of Congressional reservation; warrant on roll 9, assigned Dec. 13, 1797 by Joseph Cox to Mathew Brooks (A Philips & John Martin witness), Mar. 1801 (Stokes Co) Robert Williams, clerk, certifys J Cox came into court & swore he was brother of Pvt. G Cox who (enlisted ? page worn) service of US in Salisbury, NC, warrant 4781 issued and was assignment by J Cox to M Brooks, the court says J Cox is a person of credit; (on back of extra sheet) John L Ewing of Davidson Co forewarns any person (no more information);
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8465. Feb. 15, 1797 warrant 4782 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] John "Buckleay" 640 ac delivered to M Brookes esq; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Feb. 14, 1797 by Job Buckly to Matthew Brooks (J Sharky & Robt Miller witness) who assigned Dec. 1, 1797 to William McAlhallan (Edmd Naddell & Jno Harbour witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8466. Feb. 15, 1797 warrant 4783 [Pvt.] Michael Stevenson 640 ac delivered to self; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned May 27, 1798 (Wake Co) by Michael Stevenson to Archd Lytle for $55 (Henry Cooke witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8467. Feb. 15, 1797 warrant 4784 [Pvt.] William Sweney 640 ac delivered to self; 48 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Dec. 29, 1797 by William Swinney to William Lytle (Jesse Sharp witness) who assigned May 30, 1806 by Robert Thompson (Thomas Williamson witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8468. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4785 Pvt. Jacob Jones 228 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), no assignments on back; duplicate

warrant issued Jun. 20, 1807 by J Winchester, grant #26221 issued "21st, 1833" to Jacob Jones;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8469. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4786 [Pvt.] Thomas Castles 274 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 36 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Mar. 3, 1798 by Thomas Castles to Richard Cooke (Nancy Castles & Susannah Harrard witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8470. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4787 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Miles Thrift 640 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), May 29, 1797 (Wilkes Co) by Abraham Thrift before William Mitchell, JP, swears he is brother and heir of M Thrift and assigns warrant to Richard Cooke for £50 who assigns Apr. 9, 1802 (Davidson Co, TN) to John Buchanan (George Buchanan & William Phillips witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8471. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4788 [Pvt.] Martin Miller 274 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 36 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), no assignments on back; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8472. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4789 [Pvt.] Jeffery Cooley 274 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 36 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), no assignments on back; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8473. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4790 [Pvt.] James Ferril 274 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 36 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Aug. 27, 1799 by James Ferrill (of Camden Co) to Richard Cooke for £47 (Henry Gover ? and Thomas Honning witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8474. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4791 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] William White 640 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Mar. 17, 1802 by Charles White, brother & only heir of W White, to Richard Cooke (Jno Jones jr witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8475. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4792 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Theophelus Dinkins 640 ac delivered to Jesse Dinkins; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned May 12, 1798 by Jesse & Sam Dickins to Charles Upchurch (Nathan Massey & Joshua Cone witness) who assigned Mar. 19, 1799 to Boling Felts (Josiah Heynot & Charles "Jande" witness) who assigned Apr. 25, 1801 to Wm Sullivan (Wm Sullivan jr & George Thomason witness); W Tennessee warrant #1543 issued Jul. 12, 1813 by David McGavock to Boling Felts for 117 ac, assigned Jul. 12, 1803 by William Sullivan, devisee of B Felts, to David Meredith (J. Vaulx witness), grants issued #6472 for 170 ac to Wm Hodge, #6632 to James Doherty, #24262 for 20 ac to Alexr Bone; Aug. 20, 1813 Wm Sullivan, devisee, assigns 37 ac to Alexander Bone (Wm D Gowen & Saml Sullivan witness) who assigns 17 ac to John Mason (Wm Sullivan & John Goforth witness);
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8476. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4793 [Pvt.] John Lock 228 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Mar. 28, 1804 by S Williams to William Marchbanks (Mart Armstrong witness); Dec. 1, 1797 John Lock, soldier for 2.5 years, assigns warrant 4793 to Richard Cooke (Peyton Wood witness) who assigns Jun. 12, 1798 to "Samson" Williams for $45;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8477. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4794 [Pvt.] Sherrod Harris 228 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned May 20, 1803 by Sherrod Harris (of Craven Co), soldier for 2.5 years, to Richard Cooke (Edward Green & Thomas Hodge witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8478. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4795 [Pvt.] Jacob Carter 274 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 36 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned (Halifax Co) Mar. 31, 1797 by Jacob Carter, soldier for 3 years, to Richard Cooke (James Carter & Archd Hedge witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8479. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4796 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Reason Rukets [or Rickets] 274 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 36 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Nov. 25, 1797 by Anthony Rickets, brother of R Rickets, to Richard Cooke (Zachariah (faint) witness) who assigned Jun. 2, 1798 to Edward Gwin for $50 who assigned Jan. 23, 1807 to Richard Cooke for $50 (John Gwin witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8480. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4797 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] George Beck [or Buk] 640 ac delivered to Richd Cooke jr; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9); copy of location #83 Jun. 7, 1800 Richard Cooke 640 ac on waters of Roaring R, begins opposite Stephen Copeland's improvement halfway between "the" Indian boundary on a "parallel to draw a right angle" from his house to said boundary, runs N, W, includes the spring and improvement, R Cooke locator, made void Feb. 5, 1807 by R Cooke, R Searcy certifys he examined entry books and doesn't find another entry by R Cooke on Roaring R or its waters; warrant assigned Mar. 14, 1804 by George Beck, son & heir of G Beck, to Richard Cooke (Thos Johnson & "Josep" Wood witness); Sept. 2, 1805 by B Totten, Jackson Co sheriff, to James Price sold 600 ac (sic) for $7.65 or taxes due for 1804 as R Cooke's property; Sept. 24, 1805 J Price transfers to Mark "Dood" and something else lined out;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8481. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4798 [no names] heirs of Pvt. William Smith 640 [written over 228] ac delivered to "Pompet" Herndon; 64 [written over 30] months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Jan. 9, 1798 by James Smith, heir, to John Strowd and Pomfrell Herndon (Anderson Strowd witness), assigned Mra. 22, 1798 by J Strowd to P Herndon who assigned Apr. 2, 1798 to Marshal Strowd (Henry Johnson witness) who assigned Mar. 27, 1800 to William Babbs (Jno K Wynne, J A Garson ?, & J Fargery witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8482. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 4799 [Pvt.] William Williams 228 ac delivered to "Pompet" Herndon; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned (no date) by William Williams to John Strowd (of Orange Co) "due to power of attorney witnessed by Pomfrett Herndon" who assigned Dec. 6, 1797 to Matthew Sellers (John Gragg & Billey G Gooch witness) who assigned Jan. 3, 1798 to Edward Bryan (of Logan Co, KY) who assigned Jan. 2, 1800 to Samuel C Blair; warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 75 of Glasgow land fraud; warrant "good"; warrant taken to Tennessee in 1801 by William Christmas].

[4800-4999 not in book, skip in numbers]

8483. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 5000 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] George Dowday 640 ac delivered to Wm King; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Nov. 30, 1797 by David "Jery" to John Strowd (William Williams witness) who assigned Feb. _?_, 1800 to John Wintin (witness names dark) who assigned Sept. 25, 1800 to "Girge Gign" (James "Cunnyngham" witness) who assigned Dec. 8, 1800 to Job Taylor (James Blackburn witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8484. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 5001 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Silas Bandefield 640 ac delivered to Wm Dicks; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Nov. 27, 1797 by Ann Huse, heir, to Wm Dick (John Huse witness) who assigned (no date) to Robert (Frederick Stump--lined out) Young (J Seawell witness) who assigned Aug. 17, 1798 to Kendrick Stump (Washington Ryburn witness); copy of location 5688 Jan. 1, 1810 John Stump 70 ac in Stewart Co on N side of Tennessee R, begins at a hickory on the bank of the river about 200 yards below mouth of Standing stone Cr, runs up the river, & N, includes a spring, Jno Stump locator; copy of location 5430 Nov. 3, 1800 Robert Donalson 133 1/3 ac in WIlson Co on head branches of Cedar lick Cr, begins at SE corner of Jno Elliott's survey where Aron Anglin lived in Sept. 1809, runs S 70 poles, E "oblong", & N, Jno Stump locator;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8485. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 5002 [Pvt.] Zebulon Hicks 228 ac delivered to Shadk. Dedlin; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned May 8, 1800 by Wm Christmas, attorney for Z Hicks, to John Wood; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8486. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 5003 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Abraham Parish 640 ac delivered to Wm King; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned (page torn) by Benjamin (page torn) to William King (page torn, Medearis witness) who assigned Mar. 13, 1798 to Lewis Green (Nathl Lane & J Coman witness) who assigned May 6, (page torn) to Abraham Martin (Nathl Lane & J Rice witness); Nov. 18, 1798 Abram Martin says warrant is assigned to Matthew Brooks (Tho Crutcher & Wm T Lewis witness);
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8487. Nov. 23, 1797 warrant 5004 [Pvt.] Benja Johnston 228 ac delivered to Wm King; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Oct. 22, 1806 by Benjamin Johnston (of Granville Co) to Stephen Morris (of Granville Co) for £45 (James Lyon & Richard Bullock witness); warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8488. Nov. 24, 1797 warrant 5005 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Elijah Trapp 640 ac delivered to G W Campbell; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Oct. 28, 1806 by J Glasgow, due to "annexed" order of Martin Trapp heir, to George W Campbell (James Trimble witness); Jul. 1792 (sic) (Wilkes Co) Chs Gordon, clerk, certifys Martin Trapp is administrator of Elijah Trapp Aug. 4, 1792 (sic); duplicate warrant issued Jun. 22, 1807 by J Winchester to G W Campbell, grants issued #1499 for 474.5 ac to G W Campbell and cert. #427 for 165.5 ac to G W Campbell;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8489. Nov. 24, 1797 warrant 5006 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Willis Sawyer 640 ac delivered to Mr. "Strudwicke"; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned Feb. 6, 1798 by John Empson to (page torn) (Daniel Turnntine witness); assigned Dec. 28, 1812 by John Scott, "proper" heir, to Isham Cherry (Darling Cherry & Laurence Cherry witness); (no date) J M Binford & B Sumner certify Wm Scott (no warrant found) was on muster roll for 2.5 years service, Isaiah Vick for 3 years (no warrant found) (Goodwin Thompson for 3 years--lined out, no warrant found), & Isaac Griffin for 3 years (may relate to warrant #2417) "musick man"; letter Aug. 15, 1806 (Orange Co) Francis McKinnie to William Christmas: W Sawyer's warrant was sold to James McVey who sold to Henry Pickard, Pickard & I wish grant to come out in his name, Pickard mentioned this to you, you said it could be done but he doesn't remember what you told him to do but believe I was suppose to say how I became owner of warrant, I bought from John Empson heir of W Sawyer and took Empson's bond for £1,000, bond is now in possession of Henry Pickard with 2 assignments on back one from me to J McVey & other from McVey to H Pickard, (signed) Francis McKinnie (David McBane & Jno Thompson witness); warrant assigned Feb. 6, 1798 by Johm Empson (of Orange Co) to Francis McKinnie (of Orange Co) with £1,000 bond (Daniel Turnntine witness) who assigned

Thompson; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned (no date) by Tho Henderson, "agent", to Joseph H Bryan and blank space signed by Jas Johnston, attorney for D Honeycut's heirs, with witness Wm Young jr; warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 15 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

8557. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5074 [Pvt.] Harris Forehand 228 ac delivered to James Thompson; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), assigned (no date) by Tho Henderson, "agent", to Joseph H Bryan; warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 11 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

8558. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5075 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Dempsey Hargrove 640 ac delivered to James Thompson; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 14 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

8559. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5076 [Pvt.] Cornelius Robertson 274 ac delivered to R Johnston; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8560. Dec. 6, 1797 warran 5077 [Pvt.] Zacariah Fields 274 ac delivered to Jas Roberts; 36 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 11 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

8561. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5078 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Alexander Bodin 640 ac delivered to Jas Roberts; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 5 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

8562. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5079 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Abel Jones 640 ac delivered to Jas Roberts; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 16 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

8563. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5080 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Anthony "Dunar" 640 ac delivered to Jas Roberts; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 10 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

8564. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5081 Drummer Charles "Logee" 640 ac delivered to Jas Roberts; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 19 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

8565. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5082 [Pvt.] Nimrod Perkins 640 ac delivered to Sterling Brewer; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 24 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

8566. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5083 [Pvt.] Duncan Carpenter 228 ac delivered to Sterling Brewer; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 8 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

8567. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5084 [Pvt.] Daniel Looney 228 ac delivered to Sterling Brewer; 30 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 19 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

8568. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5085 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Francis Cameron 640 ac delivered to Sterling

Brewer; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 7 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

8569. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5086 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] James "Feddrick" 640 ac delivered to Philemon Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8570. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5087 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Hugh McLaughlin [or McCaughlin] 640 ac delivered to Philemon Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8571. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5088 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Abraham "Milan" 640 ac delivered to Philemon Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [copy of location #_?_ in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9, after #5090), Dec. 3, 1810 Phillip Thomas, assignee of Abram Miller's heirs, 25 ac in Smith Co on E side of Caney fork, begins at a beach marked "P T I T" on John Trowsdale's (sic) line, runs N, & E, includes Daniel Tyre's improvement, Icabod Thomas locator; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8572. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5089 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Francis Danniley 640 ac delivered to Philemon Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8573. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5090 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Nichs. Boder 640 ac delivered to Philemon Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [W Tennessee warrant #4908 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), issued Nov. 19, 1823 by David McGavock to Daniel Alexander for 79 ac, assigned Nov. 19, 1823 by Danl Alexander to John Chisum (H W McGavock witness) who assigned Jun. 28, 1824 to John Halbrook (James Chisum witness), grant #23569 to Jno Halbrook; warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8574. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5091 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Sylvanus Blythe 640 ac delivered to Philemon Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8575. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5092 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Ezekiel White 640 ac delivered to Philemon Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 33 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

8576. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5093 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Edmund Dickens 640 ac delivered to Philemon Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8577. Dec. 6, 1797 warrant 5094 [no names] heirs of Sgt. John Cowin [or Cowen] 1,000 ac delivered to Philemon Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8578. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5095 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] John Wilson 640 ac delivered to Phil Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8579. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5096 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] John Flinn 640 ac delivered to Phil Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8580. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5097 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] John Griffin 640 ac delivered to Phil Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud]. ✓ heirs

8581. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5098 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] "Jobe" Cole 640 ac delivered to Phil Hodges; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [W Tennessee warrant #4781 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9),

8621. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5138 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] George "Clmsey" 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [Tennessee grant #4914 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), issued Aug. 2, 1813 to Thomas Shute for 110 ac in Rutherford Co; copy of location #(ink blob) Dec. 7, 1810 Robert Thompson, assignee of "Thomas" Clensey's heirs, 64.25 ac in Rutherford Co on Stones R, begins on the bank of Stones R at a large white oak at what's called the split rock in the river and SW corner of 640 ac granted to Rice and "Riceton", runs N with said line, & W, includes vacant land between said tract and James Mulherrin's E boundary of 640 ac, Thos Shute locator;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8622. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5139 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Jesse Sharp 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8623. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5140 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Patrick Gibbons 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8624. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5141 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Pleasant Low 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8625. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5142 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Patrick Moore 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [duplicate warrant in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), issued Jun. 23, 1807 by J Winchester, assigned (no date) (Person Co) by Patrick Moore jr, heir, to Archd Lytle for $80 (Abraham Lee witness) and assigned Mar. 23, 1808 by Will Lytle jr, for A Lytle, to John Griffith for $320 payable by Christmas (John Smith witness) who assigned Mar. 23, 1808 to John Smith (Wm Christmas witness) who assigned 127 ac Jun. 10, 1808 to "Fardenand" Hamilton (John C McLemore witness); grants issued #1303 for 101 ac to John Smith, cert 189 for 127 ac to Ferdenand Hamilton, #2899 for 60 ac & #2900 for 40 ac both to John Bennett, cert 1028 for 200 ac & #3957 for 112 ac both to John Smith;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud]. Ours?

8626. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5143 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] John McDowell jr 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [copy of Washington Co land warrant #908 from John Carter's office (not military warrant) in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9): May 15, 1779 John McDowel, officer in continental service, 140 ac in Washington Co joins Andrew Taylor's entry #817, adjudged valid Jun. 12, 1807 (signed) Archibald Roane; second warrant from John Carter's office #975 May 17, 1779 John McDowell, officer in continental service, 500 ac in Washington Co begins at mouth of Lick Br and runs up Holston R, includes a spring lick and one or 2 improvements, adjudged valid Jun. 12, 1807 (signed) Archibald Roane;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8627. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5144 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Charles McVey 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8628. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5145 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Edward Veal 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8629. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5146 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] "Rawley" Hogans 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [W Tennessee warrant #870 in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9), issued Feb. 3, 1812 by David McGavock to Daniel Ross for 150 ac, assigned Mar. 4, 1812 by Daniel Ross to John C McLemore & James Vaulx who assigned 100 ac Mar. 7, 1810 to Zacheriah "Shemmell" & Joseph Shemmell and 40 ac Mar. 12, 1812 to George T Allen and 10 ac Mar. 14, 1812 to John S Galbreath; Feb. 8, 1813 G T Allen assigns 40 ac to John Allen; survey included for 100 ac to Zachariah Shammell & Joseph Shammell, land in Montgomery Co; survey included for 50 ac to Zachariah Shammell & Joseph Shammell, land

in Montgomery Co; grants issued #7309 for 50 ac to Z & J Shammell, #7310 for 50 ac to Z & J Shammell, #26980 for 15 ac to John S Galbreath;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8630. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5147 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] "Deveruex" Gillam 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 9): copy of warrant #499 from John Armstrong's office (not military warrant) for 640 ac to Devereaux Gilliam in Green Co on N side of Holston R, includes the first large bottom of rich low grounds below mouth of French Broad R, issued Jun. 25, 1784, copy issued May 20, 1818 by Wm Hill, assigned Mar. 30, 1790 by Nicholas Perkins, for D "Gillam", to Stephen Copland; May 20, 1818 William Hill, Secretary of State, certifys warrant is in office with survey for "Joseph Copland", grant was made out for Joseph Copland but wasn't recorded in grant book; May 21, 1818 William Hill to William C Mynatt: enclosed are the copies you requested with explanation, my opinion is that a grant issued about Dec. 26, 1791 being the date others issued to Joseph Copeland (see file #025 in Greene Co); Aug. 31, 1818 (Knoxville) Solomon Copeland, administrator of Joseph Copeland's estate, before William C Mynatt received of Pryor Lea, clerk of E Tennessee commissioners, duplicate warrant #499 issued Aug. 31, 1818 to Joseph Copeland's heirs due to act of Assembly passed Oct. 14, 1817 at Knoxville;
warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8631. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5148 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] William Horton 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8632. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5149 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Edward Cowen 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8633. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5150 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Alexr "Gammel" 640 ac delivered to [blank]; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8634. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5151 [Pvt.] Shadrach "Peirce" 365 ac delivered to James Tiner; 48 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 24 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

8635. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5152 [no names] heirs of Pvt. Harrington Fairfax 640 ac delivered to James Tiner; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 12 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

8636. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5153 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] Dorman Fairfax 640 ac delivered to James Fairfax; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 12 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant assignment forged].

8637. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5154 [Pvt.] Thomas "Peircy" 365 ac delivered to Joseph Sears; 48 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant not mentioned in Glasgow land fraud].

8638. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5155 [no names] heirs of [Pvt.] John Couling [or Coseling] 640 ac delivered to Joseph Sears; 84 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 8 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

8639. Dec. 7, 1797 warrant 5156 [Pvt.] Westwood Hyde 365 ac delivered to Joseph Sears; 48 months; file and grant [blank]; [warrant mentioned in part 3 p. 15 of Glasgow land fraud; soldier didn't muster, warrant not assigned].

10053. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] "abstract" of duplicate military warrant No. 5258 (2558 written at top of page) for 640 ac issued by Commissioners of W Tenessee to David Smith and Enoch Tucker; Sept. 1, 1807 100 ac appropriated by Joseph Woolfork's entry; Sept. 26, 1807 70 ac appropriated by "Gabrel" Greathouse's entry; Sept. 27, 1807 115 ac appropriated by Joseph Woolfolk; Sept. 27, 1807 115 ac appropriated by Joseph Woolfolk; Dec. 14, 1807 176 ac appropriated by Enoch Tucker's entry leaving 64 ac to satisfy (signed) Wm Christmas; (on back) Aug. 28, 1807 David Smith assigns 400 ac of warrant to Joseph Woolfolk.

10054. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] warrant 4996 issued Feb. 21, 1824 by David McGavock, register of W Tennessee, to George Swink for 20 ac due to warrant #1555 from John Armstrong's office to John Gillispie (dated Nov. 13, 1784) for 750 ac; (on back) assigned Mar. 8, 1824 by "A B Baily" to John Smith.

10055. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] warrant 4883 issued Apr. 17, 1823 by David McGavock, register of W Tennessee, to George Smart for 30 ac due to warrant #2948 from John Carter's office to James Morrow (dated Oct. 12, 1798) for 640 ac; (on back) assigned Apr. 9, 1823 (sic) by G R "Smartt" to William C Smartt (Jno Cruis ? witness) who assigned Sept. 9, 1824 to Lark Colville (Isham Perkins witness) who assigned Jan. 22, 1825 to Thos Los (or Lof) (Daniel Graham witness).

10056. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] warrant 4795 issued Oct. 1, 1822 by David McGavock, register of W Tennessee, to John B Hogg for 10 ac due to warrant #1737 from register of W Tennessee (dated Apr. 21, 1814) for 115 ac; (on back) assigned Feb. 20, 1823 by J B Hogg to D Mims.

10057. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] warrant 5020 issued Mar. 15, 1824 by David McGavock, register of W Tennessee, to Isaac Taylor for 13 ac due to warrant #2948 from John Carter's office (dated Oct. 12, 1798 for 640 ac to James Morrow; (on back) warrant assigned May 31, 1824 by Isaac Taylor to James McMahan (John Chisum witness) who assigned Jun. 14, 1824 to Joseph McMahan who assigned Jun. 15, 1824 to Jonathan Cotney.

10058. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] warrant 4775 issued Sept. 30, 1822 by David McGavock, register of W Tennessee, to James Lewis for 25 ac due to warrant #1763 from John Armstrong's office (dated Mar. 12, 1786) for 1,500 ac to Sarah T Lewis.

10059. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] warrant 4778 issued Sept. 30, 1822 by David McGavock, register of W Tennessee, to Enoch Murfree for 50 ac due to warrant #1863 from John Armstrong's office (dated Jul. 25, 1786) for 800 ac to John Smith; (on back) warrant assigned Feb. 24, 1823 by Enoch Murfree to Labon Dodson (Elebourn Chisum witness).

10060. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] warrant 4774 issued Sept. 13, 1822 by David McGavock, register of W Tennessee, to James Lewis for 72 ac due to warrant #1867 from John Armstrong's office (dated Nov. 13, 1784) for 2,000 ac to James Lewis.

10061. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] copy of grant #1213 to Alexander Mebane, assignee of Pvt. Abraham Danley, for 640 ac in Sumner Co; (on back) Nashville Aug. 1, 1807 grant vacated because certificate issued on another grant for a warrant of the same number (signed) J Winchester, Board of W Tennessee, Nashville Aug. 3, 1807 certificate issued for 640 ac so this grant is vacated (signed J Winchester); see MARS 12.14.18.124.

10062. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] statement (Sept. 10, 1808 by Jno Doak) and copy of plat for 640 ac in Wilson Co for grant #1725 (May 20, 1793) to Samuel Barton; survey at request

of John Irwin, assignee of S Barton; 417 ac taken by grant #1642 (Feb. 23, 1793) to Samuel Barton for 640 ac; so 223 ac remain.

Copy of deed Jul. 10, 1800 Reuben Cage, sheriff (Sumner Co), to John Irwin (same); for $10 sold 640 ac on waters of Bartons Cr and near the head waters of Cumberland R; granted May 20, 1793; sold due to fire facias from Sumner Co Pleas & Quarter Sessions Court Apr. 1799 to collect $1,800 for John Irwin due to judgment against Samuel Barton. (signed) R Cage; registered Oct. 29, 1800; copied Apr. 15, 1833.

10063. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] copy of agreement: Sept. 5, 1821 James Edwards, Mathew Edwards, Martha Edwards, Rebecca Edwards, Charles Edwards, & Temperance Edwards (Northampton Co, NC) to Andes Jones (Nash Co); for $125 sold all John Edwards' military land. (signed) James, Mathew, Martha, Rebecca, Charles, & Temperance Edwards' marks; witness Wm Daughtry; (on back) Sept. 21, 1821 proved by W Daughtry before John R Donnell; registered in Wake Co book 4 p. 353 Sept. 21, 1821; Jan. 22, 1822 (Wake Co) Andes Jones for "within mentioned sum" assign to Trustees of "the" University. (signed) Andes Jones; Will Polk (witness).

Copy of statement: Sept. 5, 1821 John Wynnburn before Roderick B Gary, JP (Northampton Co, NC); John says he was a soldier in Continental Army and knew Corp. John Edwards who is now dead leaving children: James, Mathew, Martha, Rebecca Charles, & Temperance Edwards; John believes these are the only living "and remaining" heirs of John Edwards. (signed) John "Winborne"; Sept. 5, 1821 R B Gary certifys John Winbourn is a citizen of "this country". (signed) R B Gary; Sept. 5, 1821 James C Harrison, clerk of Northampton Co, certifys R B Gary is JP.

10064. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] copy of grant #657 (Dec. 8, 1787) in Davidson Co to James Lanir (or Lenear), assignee of Pvt. David "Hoom", 640 ac; border: on S nd E of Nicholas Coonrod's survey and joins Flemming's preemption & Fenner; "no warrant or survey found" on which this grant founded, so it's certified the above is a true copy from the books in my office that contain copies of military grants certified by Will White, NC Secretary, and recognized by report of TN Legislature Nov. 14, 1811. (signed) Jno C McLemore May 21, 1833.

10065. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] copy of statement: Aug. 22, 1824 George Jemmison before Jones Griffin, JP of Monroe Co, TN: George swears he served 2 years 9 months in "the" army of the US in Revolutionary War and was "severely" wounded and has never applied for or drawn any "pention from the" Government. (signed) "Gorge Jameson" and Jones Griffin. JP *

10066. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] copy of grant #161 in Eastern Dist to William Crocker, assignee of second half year's pay of Pvt. Gallant Lemar (in Davidson Co Bn), for 640 ac on S side of Holston R (copy faint); (on back) Jul. 23, 1795 recorded in Knox Co book C p. 157; Mar. 27, 1807 assigned by William Coker (or Hoker) to Luke Lea (William J Smith witness); proved Apr. 15, 1807 (Knox Co) by Wm J Smith before Josiah Nichol, JP; Jun. 3, 1807 Archibald Roane, Board of Commissioners of E Tennessee, certifys Luke "Lee" is entitled to 400 ac due to this grant. Copy of survey also included: survey (Jun. 27, 1792) due to warrant Apr. 14, 1791; (on back) "grant vacated".

10067. [Following in Tennessee Revolutionary War warrants (roll 1):] a statement: (no date) Joseph Simons before R M Brickell, JP Bertie Co; Joseph swears he knew John Mitchell as a soldier in the Revolutionary War and Mitchell married said Simons' sister named Sarah and had a son George who is now living in Bertie Co. (signed) Joseph Simons' mark and R M Brickell. Feb. 18, 1822 Windson John Castelow sr "also maketh oath to the truth of the above deposition" (signed) John Castelow and R M Brickell. R M Brickell and Justis Askew certify J Simons & J Castelow are creditable witnesses. Feb. 19, 1822 Elisha A Rhodes, clerk of Bertie Co, certifys Robert M Brickell and "Justice" Askew are justices of the peace of Bertie Co (signed) E A Rhodes.

Feb. 4, 1822 George Mitchell (Bertie Co) to Joseph J C(?) Bryan (Granville Co); power of attorney to obtain from Trustees of UNC the land warrant due to services of his father Jobe Mitchell; Bryan can sell the

* Is this (Rev) Jones Griffin Jr? Monroe Co was part of Jackson at first — still Jennings Creek area.

Sto Donelson, Donaldson to John McPharson; warrant drawn by: McNeese; surveyed for: J McPherson; remarks: first assignment was forged by John McNeese, it is probable that last assignment of Donelson to John McPharson who occasioned by the forgery having been debated, not mustered, granted to McPherson.

3037. soldier: heirs Saml Griffin; 640 ac; assignment: by Jacob Griffin to "blank"; mesne assignment: from N Lassiter to Saml Allen, from Samuel Allen to Abraham Riston, John & Elisha Rice; warrant drawn by: McNeese; surveyed for: A Riston, Jno & Elisha Rice; remarks: first assignment probably forged, assignor marks without witness, granted to John Rice, not mustered, no evidence of heirship "etc".

2142. soldier: heirs Dugald McConnough; 640 a; assignment: by Archd McConnough to Jno McNeese; mesne assignment: McNeese to Samuel Allen, Allen to A Riston, John & Elisha Rice; warrant drawn by: McNeese; surveyed for: A Riston, Jno & Elisha Rice; remarks: first assignment forged by McNeese, assignor marks without witness, no evidence "etc", mustered, granted to surveyees.

1088. soldier: Levi Barker; 640 ac; warrant drawn by: Jno Rice; surveyed for: Jno Rice; remarks: granted to John Rice without any assignment, not mustered.

1656. soldier: William Hayse; 1,000 ac; assignment: by Wm Hayse to Wynn Dixon; mesne assignment: Dixon to James Allen, Allen to Eusebius Bushnell & William Dobbins; warrant drawn by: Wynn Dixon; surveyed for: Allen, Bushnell, & Dobbins; remarks: granted to surveyees, mustered for 18 mos, first assignment probably forged by Dixon, see the similarity in writing in the signatures of first & second assignments.

2575. soldier: heirs Micajah Muzles; 640 ac; assignment: by Josiah Mussles to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: McNees to Jno Nichols; warrant drawn by: McNeese; surveyed for: J Nichols; remarks: first assignment forged by McNeese, assignor marks without witness, not mustered, granted to Jno Nichols.

683. soldier: Joseph King; 274 ac; warrant drawn by: Ennis Ward; surveyed for: Ennis Ward; remarks: granted Ennis Ward, no assignments, mustered.

[page 90 & 91] file 19
572. soldier: Capt. Matthew Wood; 1,622 ac; warrant drawn by: M Montflorence; surveyed for: E Bushnell & Wm Dobbins; remarks: granted to Eusebius Bushnell & Wm Dobbins, no assignment whatever, musters [on Lineft for 2.5 yrs--lined out].

2543. soldier: Isaiah Stedham; 640 ac; assignment: by Heny Stedham to Nathl Lassiter; mesne assignment: Lassiter to Robt Nelson; warrant drawn by: McNeese; surveyed for: Rt Nelson; remarks: first assignment forged by Lassiter, assignor marks without witness, granted to Nelson, no evidence "etc", not mustered.

2576. soldier: heirs Jacob Mitchell; 640 ac; assignment: by Job Mitchell to Jno McNesse; mesne assignment: by McNeese to John Nichols & by Nichols to Rt Nelson; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Rt Nelson; remarks: granted to Nelson first assignment forged by McNeese, assignor marks without witness, no evidence "etc", mustered for 9 mos. only.

2701. soldier: heirs Joseph Walkins; 640 ac; assignment: by John Walkins to Tho Butcher; witness: John Wood; mesne assignment: Butcher to A Hart, Hart to Rt Nelson; warrant drawn by: Shad Barrow; surveyed for: Rt Nelson; remarks: granted to Nelson, first assignment forged, similarity of writing in hand writing of assignor & witness, no evidence "etc", not mustered.

2047. soldier: heirs Jermh Brandley; 640 ac; assignment: by Jona Brantley to Jno McNeese; mesne assignment: McNees to Geo Allen; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Geo Allen; remarks: granted to Geo Allen, first assignment forged by McNees, assignor marks without witness, it is worthy of remark that the forgeries of McNees may be detected even by the sameness of the marks, not mustered, no evidence "etc".

2671. soldier: heirs Leml Lassiter; 640 ac; assignment: by John Lassiter to Tho Butcher; witness John Warr; mesne assignment: Butcher to A Hart; warrant drawn by: S Barrow; surveyed for: Anthy Hart; remarks: granted to A Hart, first assignment forged by same person who forged 2701 [above], no evidence "etc", not mustered.

[page 92 & 93] file 19
1659. soldier: heirs Hardy Peterson; 640 ac; assignment: by Hardy Peterson to Wynn Dixon; mesne assignment: on these warrants sundry mesne assignments have been made, they at length each become vested in the respective surveyees; warrant drawn by: Wynn Dixon; surveyed for: Lardner Clark; remarks: first assignment in each of these warrants has been forged perhaps by Wynn Dixon, the whole of the signatures to them have been written by the same person, as will appear by comparing them with each other, grants have been issued to the surveyees respectively, none of the warrantees have mustered except in the cases 1685, 1677, 1669, in the case 1669 the warrantee only mustered for 9 mos.

1662. soldier: John Hedspeth; 640 ac; assignment: by Jno Hedspeth to Wynn Dixon; mesne assignment: [see 1659 above]; warrant drawn by: Wynn Dixon; surveyed for: Bushell & Dobbins; remarks: [see 1659 above].

1685. soldier: heirs Wm Davis; 640 ac; assignment: by Jno Davis to Wynn Dixon; mesne assignment: [see 1659 above]; warrant drawn by: Wynn Dixon; surveyed for: Bushnell & Dobbins; remarks: [see 1659 above].

1665. soldier: Henry Cole; 1,000 ac; assignment: by Henry Cole to Wynn Dixon; mesne assignment: [see 1659 above]; warrant drawn by: Wynn Dixon; surveyed for: Bushnell & Dobbins; remarks: [see 1659 above].

1674. soldier: Danl Jacobs; 1,000 ac; assignment: by Danl Jacobs to Wynn

2101. soldier: heirs Joseph Heel; 640 ac; assignment: by Nathan Heel to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: "several"; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Rd Fenner; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2095. soldier: heirs Randal Green; 640 ac; assignment: by Joshua Green to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: "several" warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Rd Fenner; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2117. soldier: heirs James Capps; 640 ac; assignment: by Joseph Capps to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: "several"; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Wikoff & Clark; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2161. soldier: heirs Jno Thompson; 640 ac; assignment: by Aaron Thompson to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: "several" warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: L Clark; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2112. soldier: heirs Jesse Brown; 1,000 ac; assignment: by Timothy Brown to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: McNees to Mountflorence; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Mountflorence; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2120. soldier: heirs Michael Fling; 640 ac; assignment: by Joseph Fling to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: McNees to Mountflorence; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Mountflorence; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2153. soldier: heirs Benj Reaves; 640 ac; assignment: by Danl Reeves to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: McNees to Mountflorence; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Mountflorence; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2131. soldier: heirs Richd Howard; 640 ac; assignment: by Rd Howard to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: McNees to Mountflorence; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Mountflorence; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2098. soldier: heirs Joseph Newkins; 640 ac; assignment: by Hardy Newkin to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: McNees to Mountflorence; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Mountflorence; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2094. soldier: heirs Timothy Mars; 640 ac; assignment: by Solomon Mars to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: McNees to Mountflorence; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Mountflorence; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2054. soldier: heirs William Lawson; 640 ac; assignment: by James Lawson to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: McNees to Mountflorence; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Mountflorence; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2097. soldier: heirs Wm Nowell; 640 ac; assignment: by Nathn Nowell to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: McNees to Mountflorence; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Mountflorence; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2159. soldier: heirs Wm Whitmar; 640 ac; assignment: by Zach Whitmar to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: McNees to Mountflorence; warrant drawn by: McNees;

surveyed for: Mountflorence; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2145. soldier: heirs Geo Menory; 640 ac; assignment: by David Menory to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: McNees to Mountflorence; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Mountflorence; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

2133 [or 2138]. soldier: heirs Matthew Lively; 640 ac; assignment: by Geo Lively to Jno McNees; mesne assignment: "several"; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: H Lacey; remarks: [see No. 2103 above].

[file 162 & 163] file 45
2102. soldier: heirs William Buck; 640 ac; assignment: by Thos Buck to N Lassiter; mesne assignment: "several"; warrant drawn by: Capt. Lassiter; surveyed for: Jno Overton; remarks: first assignments forged by Nathan Lassiter, none mustered.

2501. soldier: heirs Hillory Crook; 640 ac; assignment: by Jacob Crook to N Lassiter; mesne assignment: N Lassiter to Rd Fenner; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Rd Fenner; remarks: [see No. 2102 above].

2540. soldier: heirs Jno Ryley; 640 ac; assignment: by Danl Ryley to N Lassiter; mesne assignment: N Lassiter to Rd Fenner; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Rd Fenner; remarks: [see No. 2102 above].

2542. soldier: heirs James Richardson; 640 ac; assignment: by Willis Richardson to N Lassiter; mesne assignment: N Lassiter to Rd Fenner; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Rd Fenner; remarks: [see No. 2102 above].

2096. soldier: heirs Jacob Griffen; 640 ac; assignment: by Paul Griffen to N Lassiter; mesne assignment: "several"; warrant drawn by: Lassiter; surveyed for: Rd Fenner; remarks: [see No. 2102 above].

2110. soldier: heirs Frederick Bagwell; 640 ac; assignment: by Archd Bagwell to N Lassiter; mesne assignment: "several"; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Wikoff & Clark; remarks: [see No. 2102 above].

2107. soldier: heirs Asa Brooks; 1,000 ac; assignment: by Wm Brooks to N Lassiter; mesne assignment: "several"; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: Anthony Sharpe; remarks: [see No. 2102 above].

2122. soldier: heirs James Fulsher; 640 ac; assignment: by Joel Fulsher to N Lassiter; mesne assignment: "several"; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: David Shelby; remarks: [see No. 2102 above].

2125. soldier: heirs Saml Griffen; 1,000 ac; assignment: by Job Griffin to N Lassiter; mesne assignment: Lassiter to J C Mountflorence; warrant drawn by: McNees; surveyed for: J C Montflorence; remarks: [see No. 2102 above].

2127. soldier: heirs Jonathan Harrison; 1,000 ac; assignment: by Jacob Harrison to N Lassiter; mesne assignment: Lassiter to J C Mountflorence;

Appendix A

Researching in Frankfort, KY

Genealogical researchers may find a wealth of information on their Kentucky ancestors if they are able to take advantage of the excellent resources available to them in Frankfort. The Kentucky Historical Society, located in the Old State Capitol building (see map inside back cover), maintains an extensive collection of Kentucky historical and genealogical resource materials. It is open to the public seven (7) days a week. The Kentucky State Archives Research Room provides access to numerous federal, state and county records (see Sources page 102-103). This research room also houses the holdings of the Kentucky Genealogical Society. Neither the Kentucky Historical Society or the Kentucky State Archives are staffed to conduct detailed genealogical research. They will, however, respond to specific questions requiring index type searches and will provide on request, a list of persons who do research for a fee. Additional information on the Kentucky Historical Society can be obtained by writing: Kentucky Historical Society, Old State House, P.O. Box H, Frankfort, KY 40602.

The Kentucky State Archives Research Room (see page 102) will photocopy specific records in response to a mailed request. The current charges for this service are listed in Table II. For example, if you wanted to obtain copies of pages from the suit of John Adams, cited in the Forward, you could submit the following request;

> Reference: Garrard County Circuit Court Chancery Records,
> Aug. 1818, Box 99, Bundles 96 and 97, Suit 999.
>
> Please copy those (or a specific number) pages of the above reference in which the name John Adams appears in relation to other family members.

A word of caution. Some of these cases contain hundreds of pages. If the number exceeds 25, the research room staff will obtain your permission prior to copying as this requires prepayment.

TABLE II

RESEARCH ROOM COPYING FEES
as of March 1990*

There is no charge for research services; only for copies made.
25 pages or more require pre-payment.

	MICROPRINT (per sheet)	XEROX (per sheet)
Patron	.25	.10
Staff	.50	.25
Research Responses	1.00	.50
(mail)	1.00 (minimum)	1.00 (minimum)

Certifications: 2.00

*All charges subject to change.

plaintiff's list pltf's list

GREGORY, Edwin vs GREGORY, Emily
(84-334-2589) Bk 23-5, Aug 1859
GRESHAM, Benjamin vs LETCHER, R.P.
(51-204-1748) Bk 18-276, May 1849
GRESHAM, W.R. vs BURNSIDES, R.L.
(55-218-1880) Bk 19-358, Jul 1851
GRIDER, Tobias vs SPRINGER, Nathaniel
(10-40-298) Bk 6-394, Mar 1820
? GRIFFIN, E.A. vs TEETER, William
(71-281-2267) Bk 21-181, Nov 1854
GRIFFIN, John vs GRIFFIN, E.
(66-264-2173) Bk 20-461, Nov 1853
GRIFFIN, Squire vs SMITHPETER, W.
(53-210-1803) Bk 18-500, Feb 1850
1810 GRIFFITH, Samuel vs HAMM, Drury Admr
(5-18-139) Bk 3-538, Sep 1810
GRIFFITH, Uriah vs THOMPSON, J. Hrs
(35-140-1100) Bk 14-81, Sep 1840
GRIFFITH, William vs THOMPSON, J. Admr
(27-108-794) Bk 11-203, Mar 1834
GRIGSBY, John vs BLEVIN, John
(16-61-460) Bk 9-111, Mar 1826
GRIMES, W.H. vs DOBYNS, George H.
(90-358-2762) Bk 24-51, Aug 1863
GROOMER, Alex Hrs vs MILLER, S.W.
(45-179-1486) Bk 16-523, Nov 1845
GROOMER, F. Hrs vs Hrs
(18-70-534) Bk 9-353, Jun 1827
GROOMER, Fred vs GROOMER, Sally
(10-37-276) Bk 6-114, Sep 1818
GROOMER, Isaac vs DOWNING, William
(19-76-584) Bk 10-37, Sep 1828
GROOMER, John vs GROOMER, F. Hrs
(18-69-533) Bk 9-353, Jun 1827
GROOMER, Sally vs GROOMER, F.
(21-84-617) Bk 10-143, Jun 1829
GROOMER, Sally vs HILL, F.
(47-188-1585) Bk 17-312, Jul 1847
GROOMER, Sally vs WALL, William
(56-221-1928) Bk 19-441, Nov 1851
GROOMS, John T. Admr vs Hrs
(71-283-2288) Bk 21-250, May 1855
GROOMS, Nancy vs ANDERSON, James
(38-150-1228) Bk 15, May 1842
GULLY, Sarah vs JONES & RAY
(77-308-2429) Bk 22-163, Feb 1857
GUTHRIE, James vs CARNS, Alex
(1-3-29) Bk 2-194, Mar 1806
GUTHRIE, James vs CARNS, Alex
(3-10-103) Bk 2*-108, Jun 1807
HACKLEY, G.E. vs MERSHON, B.F.
(37-145-1175) Bk 14-565, Sep 1841
HACKLEY, George E. vs BONER, H.C.
(92-365-2808) Bk 24-309, Aug 1864
HACKNEY, Sally vs HACKNEY, Samuel
(11-41-306) Bk 6-503, Jun 1820
HAGAN & MORAN vs MASTERSON, W.
(77-305-2414) Bk 22-112, Feb 1857
HALCOMB, Elizabeth vs CLARK, William Hrs
(46-183-1520) Bk 17-88, Aug 1846
HALEY, Sidney vs BROWN, E.
(41-164-1343) Bk 16-81, Feb 1844

defendant's list

GREEN, Z. ads COATTS, Celia
(7-28-210) Bk 5-182, Sep 1815
GREEN, Z. ads LYMAN, Charles
(62-247-2088) Bk 20-258, Nov 1852
GREEN, Zach ads LYMAN, Charles
(70-280-2265) Bk 21-173, Nov 1854
GREGORY, Emily ads GREGORY, Edwin
(84-334-2589) Bk 23-5, Aug 1859
GRESHAM, Benjamin ads PRICE, Jennings
(51-204-1747) Bk 18-275, May 1849
GRESHAM, Benjamin ads SOPER, R.
(67-268-2202) Bk 20-505, Nov 1853
GRESHAM, Benjamin ads DANIEL, A.G.
(45-180-1503) Bk 16-624, Feb 1846
GRESHAM, W.R. ads KINNAIRD, W.H.
(64-253-2121) Bk 20-329, May 1853
GRIFFIN, E. ads SMITHPETER, W.
(66-264-2174) Bk 20-461, Nov 1853
GRIFFIN, E. ads GRIFFIN, John
(66-264-2173) Bk 20-461, Nov 1853
GRIFFIN, James W. ads WILLIAMS, David
(27-105-766) Bk 11-98, Sep 1832
GRIFFITH, Samuel ads BURDETT, Joshua 1807
(2-6-52) Bk 2-517, Mar 1807
GRIFFITH, U. ads KIRBY, Richard E.
(53-209-1798) Bk 18-488, Feb 1850
GRIGSBY ads DANIEL, A.G.
(46-183-1521) Bk 17-91, Aug 1846
GRIMES, William ads MERRILL, William
(81-323-2510) Bk 22-433, Aug 1858
GRINSTAFF, A. ads DUNCAN, Stephen C.
(15-57-412) Bk 8-285, Jun 1824
GROOMER Hrs ads FLETCHER & WHEELER
(21-83-607) Bk 10-130, Jun 1829
GROOMER, F. ads GROOMER, Sally
(21-84-617) Bk 10-143, Jun 1829
GROOMER, F. Hrs ads GROOMER, John
(18-69-533) Bk 9-353, Jun 1827
GROOMER, Fred Admr ads BURTON, Robert
(17-65-492) Bk 9-221, Sep 1826
GROOMER, Garret ads BRUCE, Horatio
(24-93-683) Bk 10-427, Mar 1831
GROOMER, Isaac ads McDONALD, James
(25-100-727) Bk 10-602, Mar 1832
GROOMER, John ads WILLIAMS, John
(19-73-565) Bk 9-509, Jun 1828
GROOMER, Sally ads GROOMER, Fred
(10-37-276) Bk 6-114, Sep 1818
GULLY, James ads BURTON, Robert
(22-86-634) Bk 10-224/306, Mar 1830
HACKLEY & KEMPER ads BURDETT, Nelson
(47-185-1545) Bk 17-163, Nov 1846
HACKLEY, G.E. ads DUNN, I. Admr
(82-325-2534) Bk 22-512, Feb 1859
HACKNEY, Samuel ads HACKNEY, Sally
(11-41-306) Bk 6-503, Jun 1820
HADDOX, Samuel ads OGDEN, Stephen
(8-29-211) Bk 5-130, Jun 1815
HAGAN & MORAN ads BARNETT, John
(77-305-2414) Bk 22-112, Feb 1857
HAGEY & MYERS ads GRAHAM, B.F.
(31-123-927) Bk 12-396, Jun 1837

SEARCH FOR WEST COUNTRY PLANTERS TO NEW ENGLAND BY 1643

For the past ten years the MARY & JOHN CLEARING HOUSE has been trying to identify the 140 passengers who came to New England on the ship *Mary & John* in 1630. We have also conducted extensive searches in secondary sources in the U.S. and in primary sources in England to compile their English ancestries. Since 1990 we have expanded our searches for English ancestries to the 3,000 to 4,000 people who we believe came to New England from the West Country (counties of Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall) by 1643, the period of the GREAT MIGRATION. We have now published four volumes in the *Search For the Mary & John* series that include nearly 400 families who came from the West Country by 1643. Some families have only been identified in a given town, sometimes only the parents have been found but sometimes we have traced the ancestries back two, three, four or more generations and sometimes to royalty. Following are about one-half of their names that appear in these four volumes. The numbers in parenthesis are the volumes in which their ancestries appear.

ADAMS, HENRY (17)
ADAMS, RICHARD (19)
ALGER, ANDREW (22)
ALLYN, MATTHEW (17)
ALVORD, ALEXANDER (18)
AMES, WILLIAM (19)
ARNOLD, WILLIAM (18)
BARTLETT, ROBERT (18)
BARTOLE, JOHN (18)
BASCOM, THOMAS (19)
BICKNELL, ZACHARY (18)
BILLINGS, ROGER (19)
BITFIELD, SAMUEL (22)
BLAKE, WILLIAM (17)
BOADEN, AMBROSE (19)
BONYTHON, RICHARD (19)
BOURNE, RICHARD (19)
BODITCH, WILLIAM (22)
BRADFORD, ROBERT (22)
BREWSTER, FRANCIS (19)
BRINSMADE, JOHN (18)
BUCKLAND, THOMAS (19)
BUNKER, JAMES, (22)
BURGES, JOHN (18)
BURRAGES, THOMAS (18)
BURT, HENRY (17)
BUSHROD, THOMAS (22)
BUXTON, ANTHONY (18)
CADE, WILMOT (22)
CAPEN, BERNARD (17)
CARY, JAMES (19)
CARY, JOHN (19)
CHAPIN, SAMUEL (17)
CHICHESTER, JAMES (19)
CHIPMAN, JOHN (17)
CHUBB, THOMAS (22)
CLAPP, NICHOLAS (17)
CLAPP, ROGER (17)
CLEVES, GEORGE (22)
COGAN, HENRY (18)
COGAN, JOHN (17)
COLLICOTT, RICHARD (19)
CONANT, JANE (22)
COOK, AARON (18)
COOKE, NATHANIEL (19)
COOKE, THOMAS (17)
CROCKET, THOMAS (22)
CUDWORTH, JAMES, (18)
DEANE, WALTER 17)
DENSLOW, HENRY (19)
DENSLOW, NICHOLAS (17)
DERBY, JOHN (17)
DIBBLE, ROBERT (22)
DODGE, RICHARD (18)
DOLBIAR, SAMUEL (19)
DOUGHTY, ELIZABETH (22)
DOUGHTY, FRANCES (22)
DUNCAN, NATHANIEL 18
DUTCH, OSMUND (19)
DYER, GEORGE (22)
EAMES, ANTHONY (17)
EDGECOMBE, NICHOLAS (19)
EELLS, JOHN (22)
ELWELL, ROBERT (22)
ENDICOTT, JOHN (17)
EVELETH, SILVESTER 18)
FARR, GEORGE (18)
FORD, THOMAS (18)
FREETHY, WILLIAM (22)
FRENCH, STEPHEN (19)
FROST NICHOLAS (18)
FRY, GEORGE (17)
FRY, WILLIAM (19)
FYLER, ANN (19)
FYLER, WALTER (19)
GALLOP, JOHN (22)
GANNETT, MATTHEW (18)
GATCHELL, SAMUEL (19)
GAYLORD, WILLIAM (18)
GERRISH, WILLIAM (19)
GIBBS, GILES (22)
GILBERT, JOHN (17)
GILL, ARTHUR (22)
GILLETT, JONATHAN (18)
GLASS, AMY (18)
GLASS, HENRY (18)
GLASS, JAMES (18)
GLASS, ROGER (18)
GREENE, JOHN (17)
HALLETT, ANDREW (19)
HAM, WILLIAM (19)
HANFORD, EGLIN, widow (18)
HANNUM, WILLIAM (22)
HARDY, JOHN (19)
HARRIS, WALTER (19)
HARVEY, THOMAS (19)
HARVEY, MARK (17)
HARVEY, ROGER (17)
HARVEY, WILLIAM (17)
HATCH, PHILIP (22)
HEALY, WILLIAM (22)
HILL, JOHN (22)
HILL, WILLIAM (18)
HINKSON, PHILIP (22)
HOAR, HEZEKIAH (17)
HOBLE, JOHN (22)
HOLBROOK, JOHN (17)
HOLBROOK, REBECCA (17)
HOLBROOK, THOMAS (17)
HOLLAND, THOMAS (22)
HOLLARD, ANGELL (19)
HOLMAN, JOHN (17)
HOOKE, REV. WILLIAM (19)
HOOKE, WILLIAM (22)
HORTON, SARAH (22)
HOSFORD, WILLIAM (19)
HUCHENS, WILLIAM (22)
HOYT, SIMON (18)
HULL, GEORGE (17)
HULL, JOSEPH (17)
HUMPHREY, MICHAEL (18)
HUSTED, ROBERT (19)
IRISH, JOHN (22)
JONES, DOROTHY (22)
JONES, ELIZABETH (22)
JONES, RICHARD (22)
JOURDAIN, MARY (22)
KING, THOMAS (18)
KING, THOMAS (22)
KING, WILLIAM (22)
KINGMAN, HENRY (22)
KITCHEN, JOHN (22)
KNIGHT, FRAMCIS (22)
KNIGHT, ROBERT (22)
KNIGHT, WALTER (19)
LANE, WILLIAM (19)
LINCOLN, THOMAS (19)
LIPPINCOTT, RICHARD (22)
LOBDELL, NICHOLAS (22)
LOMBARD, THOMAS (18)
LORING, THOMAS (18)
LOVELL, ROBERT (22)
LOWELL, PERCIVAL (19)
LUDLOW, ROGER (22)
MACOMBER, JOHN (19)
MACOMBER, WILLIAM (19)
MANSFIELD, RICHARD (22)
MARSHFIELD, THOMAS (22)
MARTIN, RICHARD)19)
MAVERICK, REV. JOHN (17)
MEIGS, VINCENT (19)
MINOR, THOMAS (17)
MOORE, MILES, (19)
NEWBERRY, THOMAS (17)
NEWTON, ANTHONY (19)
NEWTON, HONOR (22)
NORTON, NICHOLAS (19)
OLIVER, THOMAS (19)
PADDOCK, ROBERT (19)
PARDEE, GEORGE (18)
PARKMAN, ELIAS (22)
PARSONS, JOSEPH (18)
PATCH, NICHOLAS (18)
PEACH, JOHN JR. (19)
PHELPS, WILLIAM (19)
PHIPPEN, DAVID (17)
PIKE, ROBERT (18)
PINCKNEY, PHILIP (22)
PINNEY, HUMPHREY (17)
PINNEY, SARAH (19)
PITCHER, ANDREW (19)
POLE, WILLIAM (19)
POMEROY, ELTWEED (17)
POOLE, EDWARD (19)
PORTER, RICHARD (22)
PROUT, TIMOTHY (18)
PUDDINGTON, GEORGE (18)
PURCHASE, THOMAS
RANDALL, PHILIP (19)
RANDALL, WILMOT (22)
RAWSON, EDWARD (17)
READ, WILLIAM (22)
READE, ESDRAS (18)
RICHARDS, THOMAS (17)
RICKARD, GILES (18)
ROCKWELL, WILLIAM (17)
ROSSITER, EDWARD (17)
SAMWAYS, RICHARD (19)
SAWTELL, RICHARD (18)
SEAVY, WILLIAM (18)
SENDALL, SAMUEL (22)
SHEPARD, JOHN (22)
SHAPLEIGH, ALEXANDER (17)
SIBLEY, JOHN (22)
SIBLEY, RICHARD (22)
SNOW, WILLIAM (22)
SPRAGUE, RICHARD (17)
SPRAGUE, RALPH (17)
SPRAGUE, WILLIAM (17)
STETSON, ROBERT (17)
STOWERS, NICHOLAS (18)
STREET, NICHOLAS (17)
STRONG, JOHN (17)
SWIFT, THOMAS (22)
TABOR, PHILIP (22)
TABOR, TIMOTHY (22)
TERRY, STEPHEN (17)
THACHER, ANTHONY (22)
THACHER, THOMAS (22)
TILLEY, JOHN (22)
TINCKNELL, SYBIL (19)
TORREY, WILLIAM (17)
TRASK, WILLIAM (18)
TREAT, RICHARD (17)
TREWORGIE, JAMES (19)
TROWBRIDGE, THOMAS (18)
UPHAM, JOHN (19)
UPSALL, NICHOLAS (19)
VINCENT, WILLIAM (18)
WALTON, REV. WILLIAM (17)
WARHAM, REV. JOHN (17)
WAY, THOMAS (18)
WEAVER, CLEMENT (19)
WEBB, CHRISTOPHER (22)
WEEKS, GEORGE (17)
WESTCOTT, STUKLEY (19)
WHITCOMB, JOHN (18)
WHITE, JOHN (18)
WHITMARSH, JOHN (22)
WILTON, DAVID (18)
WINTER, CHRISTOPHER (22)
WINTER, JOHN (22)
WOLCOTT, HENRY (17)
WOLCOTT, JOHN (22)
WOODBURY, WILLIAM (18)
WOODCOCK, JOHN (19)

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MARY & JOHN CLEARINGHOUSE

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VOLUME 24-EXCERPTS FROM VOLUMES 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 & 21

From 1988 to 1994 the Mary & John Clearing House published twelve volumes on the Mary & John passengers of 1630 plus other early West Country families. Four of these volumes, numbers 17, 18, 19 & 22 contain extensive English ancestries. Seven of the other volumes, numbers 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 & 21, were historical and geographical. They were filled with photographs, maps and sketches from England and New England. They were the result of many people traveling around England and New England photographing 16th century houses and churches of our ancestors, collecting maps of the locals where they lived, and in general, searching for the history of our forefathers. Some of the material in these seven volumes have become obsolete by more recent findings. Also, it has become too costly for the Clearing House to continue to stock these volumes so they have been taken out of print. However, to preserve the best material, and over 170 photos, sketches and maps, volume 24 has been compiled for future readers. Following are some of the highlights:

Blake family of Somerset. Ancestors of William Blake, Henry Wolcott, Thomas Richards and William Torrey and his brothers all share this ancestry. Over Stowey, Somerset. Blake coat-of-arms, 1662. Admiral Blake museum & Calne, Wiltshire. Photos.

William Buell- Photo of his 17th century chest.

Roger Clapp's hometown, Salcombe Regis, Devon and the house he was born in (still standing-photos).

Jonathan Gillett's "Bear Bible" and the Old Rectory in Chaffcombe, Somerset where the Gillett brothers lived. Photos. Four generations of descendants of Jeremiah Gillett, Jr.

Indian wampum belt given to Capt. John Gallop Jr., in 1675. Photo.

William Hayden, the unsung hero of the Pequot Indian war-1637.

Beaminster, Dorset, home of Eltweed Pomeroy, David Wilton & Joseph Parsons and his brothers. The Pomeroy anvil has been found. Photo.

The William Rockwell memorial stone of 1990, in Fitzhead, Somerset. Photos.

Combe St. Nicholas, Somerset, home of Edward Rossiter, George Fry & William Torrey and their ancestral homes. Photos.

A chapel owned by Walter Deane's father in 1634. Photos.

Upway, Dorset, home of the Sprague brothers.

The Strong family in England 917th century). The "Strong House" renovation, built by John Strong's grandfather, c. 1600. Photos.

Two villages of Rev. John Warham's ancestors. Photos.

Wolcott letters from England (1631-1660). Henry Wolcott's ocean crossing in 1640.

The Tolland mill house he inherited in 1639 and the real owners and occupiers of Gaulden Manor in the 16th & 17th centuries.

The beach on Nantasket Point, where the "Mary & John" landed in 1630.

The migration rate to New England, 1620-1640.

Pedigree Collapse: Every person has over 1 million direct ancestors 19 generations back and over 68 billion, thirty-five generations back.

The new, 252 foot long New World Tapestry being created in England.

Crewkerne, Somerset, home of Rev. John Warham, George Hull, William Gaylord, William Phelps, Richard Vore, John Bartole and many more.

Highlights of the first Mary & John & West Country Conference, in Windsor, Conn. in 1993.

SOFT BOUND - 206 Pages. Price: $24.75 plus postage and handling.

PROVISIONS CARRIED ON THE SHIP "MARY & JOHN" IN 1630

By Burton W. Spear

For every 100 passengers in the Winthrop Fleet of 1630, certain provisions were carried on every ship. Assuming babies and small children were not counted, then only about 100 of the 140 "Mary and John" passengers would have been counted for provisions purposes. About 40 were 12 years of age or under. If the above assumptions are true, the "Mary and John" was loaded with the following provisions for the passengers only (excluding crew).

11,000 gallons of beer	1 and 1/2 bushels of mustard seed
1,500 gallons of water	20 gallons of oil
1,200 loaves of bread	2 firkins (casks) of soap
22 hogsheads of beef	2 rumlets (18 gal. cask) Spanish wine
40 bushels of peas	4,000 salted pollack (fish)
20 bushels of oatmeal	10 firkins (casks) of butter
1,400 salt cod	1,000 pounds of cheese
96 pounds of candles	20 gallons of brandy
2 tierces (42 wine gals.) of beer vinegar	

The above provisions could have weighed in excess of 150,000 pounds. There were about 15 sailors for every 100 passengers, so they required similar provisions. Since they had to make the return crossing to England, each was counted twice. So, the above figures may be increased by 30%, which means the total provision load may have been about 200,000 pounds, or 100 tons.

In addition, for every 100 male passengers over the age of 16 there were certain quantities of weapons that had to be carried. It is estimated that there were about 50 males on the "Mary and John" over age 16, so the ship should have been required to carry the following:

2 drums	2 extra drumheads	2 halberds*
4 cannons	1 partizen (soldier)	30 corselets (suits of armor)
1 ensign (flag)	40 bastard muskets	20 pikes*
5 full muskets	5 long fowling muskets	10 half pikes
45 pounds of shot	50 swords and belts	6 barrels of powder
1 bullet bag	6 barrels of powder	8 pieces of ordnance
5 horn flasks	1 fish net	bandoliers (carrying belts)

* halberds were a long handled weapon; pikes were long pointed weapons and half pikes were short pointed weapons.

Besides the necessary provisions and weapons, there were several other items that needed to be stowed on board ship for use during the long trip across the Atlantic. They included:

supply of linen	red knit caps	pint pewter bottles
shirts	plain shirts	French copper kettles
mats	bolsters	black hats
gloves	brass spoons	woolen cloth
shoes	bed ticks	quart pewter bottles
brass ladles	Norwich garters	peppering hops
Kersey suits	leather girdles	large quantity unleavened bread
	stockings	

-suits with doublets and hose made of leather lined with oil skin
-falling bands (the wide, white collar usually associated with the Puritan)
-waist coats of green cotton bound with red tape
-blankets made of Welch cotton sheets

That's not all that was carefully tucked aboard the small, crowded vessel. In preparation for the crops the settlers hoped to plant they took seeds, hoping to harvest such things as wheat, barley, rye, oats, beans, peas, peaches, plums, filberts (European hazel nuts), cherries, pears, apples, quince, pomegranates (red berry), licorice, hops, hemp, flax and currants. They also brought grape vines and apple seedlings. Other necessities included madder and woad, herb seeds to be used in the manufacture of red and blue dye. Finally, they took along such domestic animals as coneys (European rabbits), cattle, sheep and goats. The feed for these animals added more weight and took up valuable space.

The last page or 2 will be family Charts

AVERILL FAMILY Please supply the indicated information

This story should end with the death of Sarah Jane Averill. Since life goes on, her blood is still flowing in the veins of a great many people, some of whom we have lost touch with.

William Wesley White, this storyteller's Grandpa, settled on his farm as a bachelor. The year after his mother died, he was married on 15 March 1898, to Grandma, Mary Lydia Dunn, at Kingston, Missouri. She was born 13 Feb 1869 in Kingston to Judge and Medical Doctor Lemuel Dunn, Jr., born 2 Jan 1820 near Harrodsburg, Kentucky; and Emma Adelia (Dodge) Dunn, born 9 Mar. 1841 at Summerhill, Cayuga County, New York, his wife. As a child, Grandpa was called "Will" by his brothers and sisters, and later "Wes" by his wife and neighbors, or "Wesley." Grandma died 19 Nov 1953 + Grandpa 23 Dec 1963 both at Hamilton Mo

Wesley and Mary White had two children, Benjamin Dunn White, born _____ 1899 and Ada White, born 23 Oct 1903 at Kingston Mo

Mamma can you fill in any blanks?

Ben D. White m. _____ 192_ in _____ California. They lived at Wilcox? Arizona, Esther Stone born _____ SHe died _____ and he remarried _____ who died He died _____ at _____

Their sons were Donald White b _____ M. _____ (who where born when) now lives _____ children: _____

and James White b. _____ m. _____ (who when b. when) now lives _____ children:

Any grandchildren? _____ b _____ (when where)

Ada White born 23 Oct 1903 married (1) 12 Aug 1922 Victor E. Hansen b 3 May 1901 Sheldon Iowa

Mamma date you Daddy married the town where he was born.

children: Norma Jewell Hansen b. 8 Jul 1923 Rosedale KS
Billie Gene Hansen 25 Jan 1926 Kingston MO
Married (2) date _____
James Arthur Yoakum, Sr. b.Sep 12 1904
town: _____ Ray County MO.
child: James Arthur Yoakum, Jr. b. 28 Nov. 1930, KingstonMO

Norma Hansen m. 16 July 1945 (John Anthony Zaniewski b. 4 Feb 1918) Warrensburg MO Catholic Church Milwaukee Wisconsin.
Children, born Milwaukee WI: lived Greenfield WI
Michelle A. Zaniewski b. 3 Dec 1950 M. _____ (3) Mar 19__ Charles Bridgman at Madison WI
Janine Louise Zaniewski b. 3 Mar 1955 m. Stanley Charles Gruna born _____ married _____ date at _____ Church
children: Stan Nathan Gruna b. 16 Jan 1982 Wauwatosa WI
Elise Anne Gruna b. 14 Aug 1986 Wauwatosa WI

Billie

Billie Gene Hansen M. _____ Oran Allen Pringle b _____ where? _____ lives in Columbia, Missouri
please list all children and grandchildren born date where married where to whom born when _____ thanks!

James Thanks

James Arthur Yoakum, Jr. born 28 Nov. 1930 at Kingston, Caldwell, MO
married _____ date _____ where _____ church or?
Patricia Harbridge born _____ when _____ where
daughter of _____ b. _____ List children & grandchildren, etc.

Donald White
6001 - 140th Ave NE #322
Redmond Washington 98052

Jim White
~~15401 - 232nd Ave NE~~
~~Woodenville WA 98072~~

Daisy White
310 Ave F
Ft Madison IA 52627

winter - Jim & Nancy White
3909 Recke Rd #214
Fallbrook CA 92028

Jim & Ada Yoakum
Box ~~22~~ 104-0 ~~Box~~ Route 1
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6611 W. Wisconsin Ave 774-2269

The Essex Genealogist Vol ___ 2123-8

TEG Feature Articles

REV. JOHN WHITE, the little-known "BUILDER OF THE BAY COLONY"

by Samuel Eliot Morison

(an edited version of one of 10 lectures published in 1920, under the title of *Builders of the Bay Colony*)

The colony of Massachusetts Bay was a corporate enterprise in which the efforts and sacrifices of some hundreds of men and women played an essential part. It was not founded by one man, as Maryland was by Lord Baltimore, or Pennsylvania by William Penn, or Rhode Island by Roger Williams. Yet, certain individuals stand out as leaders, and of these the first was Master John White of Dorchester. Why, then, have we never heard of John White? For the simple reason that John White never emigrated. No descendants came to this country, no town can claim him as a father. Yet, if his services are considered in the light of what we know today, he was one of the founders of the Colony. Rev. John White was well-educated. In 1606 he was installed rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity at Dorchester in Wessex.

Dorchester, in Wessex, is familiar to readers of Thomas Hardy as Casterbridge. The town had a problem that interested White's humane and charitable mind. Althugh it was the shire town of Dorset, the houses were mere hovels of wood and plaster and most of the people were miserably poor. The market for common labor was glutted and the roads were full of sturdy beggars. Colonization was beginning to seem the only remedy for overpopulation. Rev. John White induced the town to erect a free primary school. When a fire wiped out most of the town in 1613, John White got subscriptions to rebuild promptly. Dorchester lies on an old Roman cross-roads which leads three ways to the sea. It was a clearing point for dried fish which the neighboring fisherman brought from Newfoundland every autumn. Capt. John Smith had pointed out that the way to improve codfishing was to plant a base colony in New England, and the way to colonize New England was through the cod. The "sacred cod" was the key to the prosperity of Maritime Massachusetts for almost two centuries.

The trouble with the fishing industry as then conducted from the West of England, was the large overhead. The season lasted from eight to ten months, but a large part was taken up in the voyage out and home. During this voyage the fishermen were idle. All the salt and other supplies had to be brought out from England. Other men had to be brought over to cure the fish. It was partly in order to cure this condition of affairs that a group of West Country merchants in 1623 (with John White as an active partner) planned a permanent colony in New England. If they could count on an all-the-year-round base, with a permanent population, the vessels would only need to carry enough men to work the ship. The saving in overhead would soon repay the cost of planting, and English unemployed would get a new start in life. It was hoped that the colony might attract a clergyman to administer to the spiritual welfare of the fishermen and also evangelize the Indians, and plant outposts of Protestantism against the Jesuits in Canada. **Combining as it did piety, patriotism and profit, "this proposition of theirs took so well,' wrote the Reverend promoter, 'that it drew on divers persons to join with them."**

THE DORCHESTER COMPANY OF ADVENTURERS

About 120 persons of substance, including merchants, clergymen, members of Parliament, and country gentry, formed **the Dorchester Company of Adventurers**. The treasurer was **John Humphrey**, who became a Magistrate of the Bay. There was raised a Stock of more than 3,000 pounds, and the whole West Country was talking about the enterprise. The Bishop of Bath and Wells, a fellow student with John White, declared that he would have gone himself as the colony's chaplain, but for his advanced years. It was this joint-stock company, **The Dorchester Adventurers**, which begat the **Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England**. Historians have been apt to hold it a small local affair, since the immediate results were so meagre. On the contrary, it was a company of much wealth, prestige and dignity, whose General Court, meeting at Dorchester, was called "The New England Planters' Parliament." What, if anything, did puritanism have to do with the Dorchester enterprise? Those members of whom we have any information, were identified with the puritan party in church and state. For the most part they

were "comformable puritans" of a type more common in the west than in the east of England; not greatly discontented with the ecclesiastical settlement made by Archbishop Bancroft, willing to use the Book of Common Prayer so long as good preaching were provided, and obnoxious 'popish' ceremonies unenforced. John White was a conforming puritan of this sort: a clergyman who took life seriously but not sadly, a stickler for good morals and good conversation, a great preacher and expounder of the Bible, but a faithful minister according to the canons of the Church; a respecter of just authority, but an upholder of English liberty. So we may call the **Dorchester Adventurers a company of puritans, but not a puritanic company**, in the same sense that we apply that term to the Massachusetts Bay corporation; for there is no evidence that its promoters intended to establish a puritan refuge in New England. We may infer that they did not, since there was no need of such a refuge, in 1623. And their avowed motive of evangelizing the natives was equally prominent in the inception of the Virginia Company, and the writings of John Smith and William Morrell. **The Dorchester Adventurers appear to have been a group of public-spirited men who wished to do something for their country, a little for the Indians, somewhat for the fishermen, and a good deal for themselves**.

THE CAPE ANN SETTLEMENT

During the summer of 1623, the Dorchester Company sent out a company of fishermen and planters in the *Fellowship* of Weymouth. They landed on Cape Ann, and erected a fishing stage and house at a rocky point a little south of Gloucester Harbor, still called Stage Fort Point. Presumably the patent to this territory had been obtained from the Council of New England. About fourteen men were left there that winter, and the Adventurers sent the *Fellowship* out with another vessel and more men in 1624 and 1625. In spite of the fine prospects in theory and on paper, the Dorchester enterprise at Cape Ann was a dismal failure. The idea of spending the winter in this bleak and lonely spot, instead of returning to spend Christmas in jolly Devon, did not appeal to them; and the few who were induced to remain convinced Master White of two principles that all New England history has confirmed: "that no fishing place in the Land is fit for planting, nor is the fishing good where farming is." The people 'fell into many disorders and did the Company little service.' No clergyman was secured until 1625, when a weak vessel expelled from Plymouth was thus employed. Neither fresh victuals nor salt were produced. The Company's ships, too, were ill-managed and unlucky; either going to the wrong market, or arriving too late at the right one. **So in 1626 the Dorchester Company dissolved**, having lost all they had put in, and as much more. Yet something more than failure was to come out of the Cape Ann venture. In the words of John White, 'As in building houses the first stones of the foundation are buried under ground, and are not seen, so in planting Colonies, the first stockes employed that way are consumed, although they serve for a foundation to the work.'

ROGER CONANT

During the last year of the settlement at Cape Ann, it was placed in charge of an able and prudent man of thirty-four named **Roger Conant**. He was the youngest of eight children of Richard Conant, a prosperous farmer of East Budleigh in Devon, the home of Walter Raleigh. The family was typical of the class that furnished New England with its best blood; typical, too, of what good New England families would be. Roger Conant had brothers in farming, in business, in the Church, and at the University. He followed an elder brother to London, served apprenticeship as a salter, and **in 1623 emigrated to Plymouth Colony, which he left shortly out of dislike of their rigid Separatism**. His brother John, a member of the Adventurers, called the attention of the Company to Roger, when they made him manager of their plantation at Cape Ann. He was appointed just in time to prevent bloodshed. The Pilgrims, having bought a worthless title to a part of Cape Ann, erected a fishing stage, which one of the West Country ships appropriated in the spring of 1625. Miles Standish and his company were sent by Governor Bradford to get it back; the West Countryman barricaded himself on the stage, and invited Miles to come and take it. 'The dispute grew to be very hot, and high words passed;' there would undoubtedly have been a battle for the stage had not Roger Conant interposed, and settled the dispute by inducing the West Countrymen to help the Pilgrims build another one.

The winter after this successful arbitration, **the Dorchester Company broke up**, tired of throwing good money after bad; and the disorderly and discontented fishermen returned to England. Apparently one more colonizing experience on the New England coast, beginning with the fairest prospects had gone down to defeat. It was only the darkness before the dawn. Conant remained, for Conant had caught the

were "commendable patterns" of a type more common in the west than in the east of England. Not grossly disciplined with the exclusive, stylised sermons made by Antinsdrop Bancroft, willing to use the Book of Common Prayer as long as good preaching were provided and otherwise "popish" ceremonies ignored, John White was a conforming puritan of this sort, a clergyman who took life practically, but not easily, a stickler for good morals and good conversation, a great preacher and expounder of the Bible, but a family minister according to the canons of the Church, a respecter of just authority, but an upholder of English liberty. So we may call the Dorchester Adventurers a company of puritans, but not a puritanic company. In the same sense that we apply that term to the Massachusetts Bay corporation, for there is no evidence that its promoters intended to establish a puritan refuge in New England. We may note that they did not, since there was no need of such a refuge, in 1623. And that several motives of evangelizing the natives was equally prominent in the incorporation of the Virginia Company, and the writings of John Smith and William Morrell. The Dorchester Adventurers appear to have been a group of public-spirited men who wanted to do something for their country, a little for the Indians, something for the fishermen and a good deal for themselves.

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vision of the new day. Secretly hoping (so he told the historian Hubbard in his dotage) that New England might prove a religious refuge, he sent intimation thereof to his friends in the old country. 'Wherefore that reverend person Master White (under God one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Colony in New England), being grieved in his spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground by the Adventurers thus abruptly breaking off, did write to Master Conant not so to desert the business,' promising that if he and three others would stay, he would procure for them a new land grant, and a fresh support. In the meantime, Conant had determined a more suitable site for the plantation. During the autumn of 1626 he and the remnant of the Cape Ann settlers, twenty or thirty persons at most, made their way by Indian trail along the North Shore to a place called by the Indians Naumkeag.... The place was well chosen, since Naumkeag under the more familiar name of Salem, became one of the most prosperous seaports in the Commonwealth.

One is tempted to give Conant credit for first grasping the 'big idea' of the Bay Colony, of a Canaan where English puritans might pursue their way of life without hindrance. But it is a delicate matter in history to trace ideas to their source; and especially in this case. Roger Conant, reminiscing fifty years after the event, would naturally have read later events into his purpose of remaining in 1626. John White, to be sure, does not mention the bible Commonwealth idea in his 'Planters Plea;' but that tract was written with the express idea of disclaiming any exclusive puritan purpose for the Bay Colony. It is purely a matter of inference whether the idea originated with White in 1623, with Conant in 1626, with the Lincolnshire puritans in 1627, or whether it simply grew out of circumstances in which the English puritans as a whole found themselves in 1629. Whatever the motive, it is a fact that Roger Conant and his followers built a few thatched cottages on the peninsula which is now the city of Salem, in the autumn of 1926 (the triangle between the North River and the B & M Railroad, just before it enters upon the bridge leading to Beverly). How they fared during their first winter at Naumkeag we do not know; probably not well, since there was talk in 1627 of abandoning the place for Virginia; but Conant persuaded the most of them 'to wait the providence of God in that place where now they were.' After a second winter, Providence vouchsafed itself in what must have seemed to the Old Planters a questionable dispensation: the transfer of their property to a new company, which placed them under the stern rule of John Endecott.

THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY

This new enterprise, "The New England Company for a Plantation in Massachusetts Bay" as it was called in the only known document that refers to it by name, owed its existence to **the continued zeal of John White**; although his name did not appear, as he had no money to contribute. Sir Henry Roswell, the high sheriff of Devon, Sir John Yonge his predecessor, John Humphrey the treasurer of the old Adventurers, two Dorchester merchants, and John Endecott, obtained from the Council for New England on March 19 1628, a patent to: **"all that part of New England in America lying between parallels three miles north of a great river there, commonly called Merriemack,' and three miles south of 'a certen other river there, called Charles river, being in the bottom of a certain bay there, commonly called Massachusetts Bay ... from the Atlantic and western sea and ocean on the east part, to the South sea on the west part.'**

Why were so twisty a river as the Merrimack and such a modern Meander as the Charles, selected as boundaries? Because no Englishman in London had as yet seen more than their mouths; and on Captain Smith's map (no doubt the only map available) the Charles and the Merrimac fade out a few miles from the sea. It was therefore assumed that both rivers flowed due east, that they would make good boundaries, and that just over their watershed -- somewhere in the Berkshires -- would be found the rivers that flowed westerly to the South Sea, or Pacific.

The purpose of the Dorchester Adventurers, as we have seen, was **to establish a fishing and trading colony with a minister.** In spite of their failure to attain this limited objective, **White and Humphrey** seem to have broadened their purpose when obtaining this patent to a generous slice of New England. Their motive had become broadly colonial: they proposed to plant a northern counterpart to Virginia. Whether or not the idea of a puritan refuge was already in their minds it is impossible to say with any certainty. My own opinion is that it was, for their instructions to Endicott the second year have a strongly puritanic flavor. Each head of a family should have morning and evening prayers. "Ill weeds must be nipt before they

vision of the new city. Sadly musing (so he told the historian Hubbard in his dotage) that New England might prove a religious refuge, he sent intimation thereof to his friends in the old country. Whereupon that reverend person Master White (under God one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Colony in New England), being grieved in his spirit that so good a work should be scattered to sail to the ground by the Adventurers thus abruptly breaking up, did write to Master Conant not so to desert the business, "considering that if he and those others would stay, he would procure for them a new land grant, and a fresh supply. In the meantime, Conant had determined a more suitable site for the plantation. During the autumn of 1626 he and the remnant of the Cape Ann settlers, twenty or thirty persons at most, made their way by Indian trail along the North Shore to a place called by the Indians Naumkeag.... The place was well chosen, since Naumkeag (later the more familiar name of Salem) became one of the most prosperous seaports in the Commonwealth.

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take too great a head, lest the plantation government be 'esteemed as a scar crowe. Our desire is to use lenitie all that may be, but in case of necessitie not to neglect the other, knowing that correction is ordained for the Fool's back. And, above all, keep youth from falling into many enormities, which by nature wee are all too much enclyned unto."

For a year, the position of White and his associates was precarious. Their patent overlapped grants by the Council for New England to Mason, Gorges, and others. Sir Ferdinando Gorges declared that the patent had been obtained surreptitiously from this Council during his absence in the war with France, through the influence of the puritan Earl of Warwick; and he was probably right. The New England Company, to ensure their territory would not be taken away, wanted a guaranteed title; and the only way that they could get it, was by a royal charter. Moreover, money was wanted to finance sending over a colony to Massachusetts Bay, and money was what the gentry of the West Country were short of. Their purses had been emptied by the Dorchester adventure. Accordingly, in 1628, there was much going to and from between Dorchester and London. **White and Humphrey** were trying to interest some of the big men of the metropolis, precisely as an inventor to-day with a new gadget to launch will try to get capital in Boston or New York. It was our indefatigable clerical promoter who "managed a treaty" (arranged a deal), with an important group of London merchants. **Matthew Cradock**, who owned 2000 pounds worth of East India Company stock; **Sir Richard Saltonstall**, nephew and heir of a Lord Mayor of London who was Master of the Worshipful Company of Skinners ("hide and leather men"); **John Venn**, a wool merchant and sometime warden of the Merchant Taylors' Company, **Theophilus Eaton**, deputy-governor of the Eastland Company that traded to the Baltic, later founder of New Haven; **Samuel and William Vassall**, interested in the Guinea trade and sons of a Huguenot member of the Virginia Company; and also a group of East Anglia puritans: **William Pynchon**, squire of Springfield in Essex, **Isaac Johnson**, and **Richard Bellingham**. These were men of standing and substance; they had money, and commanded more in the City of London.

THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY

Men of money generally get what they want, even though they belong to a party out of favor at court. It was Saltonstall, Cradock, and their friends, in association with White and the New England Company's patentees, who obtained for the same area from the Merrimac to the Charles, and the same avowed purpose of colonization and Indian conversion, a charter under the name of **the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England** (March 4, 1629). This charter consolidated the position of the New England Company by making it a corporation; and this very document, transferred to the soil of New England in 1630, served for over fifty years as the constitution of the self-governing colony of Massachusetts Bay.

CAPT. JOHN ENDICOTT

Even before it had obtained the royal charter, the New England Company sent out settlers to Naumkeag. By the end of June, 1628, the *Abigail* sailed from Weymouth with about fifty colonists, and a generous stock of supplies, including five "tuns" of beer, thirty hogsheads of malt and two of 'aquavity,' twelve runlets of 'strong waters' and two pipes of Madeira. Also six hogsheads of water were carried in case of emergency. **Captain John Endecott**, a stout soldier of Devon, accompanied the fleet as **governor of the plantation**. He and the colonists, most of whom were hired servants of the Company, were ordered "to make fish, cure sturgeon, prepare beaver, timber, sassafras, sarsaparilla, also a good store of shoomack, and a tun waight of silke grass." In addition they were instructed, in their moments of leisure perhaps, to **get a few Indian children "to trayne up to reading, and consequentlye to religion."**

LONDON'S PLANTATION IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY

London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay, as the enlarged colony at Naumkeag was called, bore precisely the same relation to the Company in England that the Jamestown Colony had to the Virginia Company. Governor Endecott had a position similar to that of Captain John Smith, or any other early governor of Virginia, and like them had a council appointed by the Company, to assist him. **Constitutionally, he was little more than the manager of a commercial plantation, and the boss of the company's hired servants.**

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Why was not Roger Conant appointed governor of the new plantation at Naumkeag? Faithful over a few, he might have made a good ruler over many. A moderate and kindly puritan, conciliatory and peaceful, he would have given to this prelude of the Bay a very different rhythm from the rough psalmody lined out by Governor Endecott. Yet the company believed a military man like Captain Endecott a more suitable leader for their enlarged enterprise than one of Conant's stamp, and probably they were right; for the excellent Roger, though frequently in after years selectman or deputy, never obtained sufficient reputation among his fellows to be elected a magistrate and assistant. "Strong valiant John" was "a fit instrument to begin this Wildernesse-worke, of courage bold undaunted, yet sociable, and of a cheerful spirit, loving and austere." But John Endicott, during his long years of service, left slight evidence of human charity but much of stout courage and sense of duty. Although Endecott was instructed by the Company to be tender of the 'Old Planters' (Conant's company) and to accord them equal rights with the new, almost his first act of authority was to remove the frame to their "great house" from Cape Ann to Naumkeag for his own use, and to appropriate their garden lots and houses for the new settlers. So Conant had to make the best of a bad situation by giving them up, in exchange for an inferior location on Bass River. **Thither removed the old planters, to establish a quiet village which in their lifetime grew into the township of Beverly** -- 'Beggarly,' as the Salemites called it, to Roger Conant's great grief. They must have been good stuff, these **Old Planters -- Conant and Palfrey, Woodbury and Balch, Gray and Gardner**; for no small group of New England settlers founded families more eminent in letters or enterprising in commerce.

NAUMKEAG named SALEM

In 1629, to commemorate some further adjustments between the new planters and the old "after expectance of some dangerous jarre," Naumkeag was renamed Salem, the Hebrew for "peaceful." It was anything but that.

REVs. FRANCIS HIGGINSON and SAMUEL SKELTON

In the spring of 1629, the New England Company obtained fresh blood, more money, and a royal charter as the Massachusetts Bay Company. The Massachusetts Bay Company at once began doing business on a larger scale, although of the same sort. That same spring it sent three hundred colonists to Salem in the *Talbot*, the *Lion's Whelp,* and three other ships. The most interesting members of this group were two ministers, Francis Higginson and Samuel Skelton, who were chosen to organize the first church in Salem, and in the Colony. The engagement of these men shows that the Massachusetts Bay Company was rapidly getting in touch with the heart of the puritan movement. Both were graduates of the University of Cambridge. Higginson was a leading figure in Leicester, and one of the best-known non-conformist ministers in England. At a time when he was in hourly expectation of being summoned to London to answer for his non-conformity before the Court of High Commission, there came a handsome offer from the Massachusetts Bay Company to go to Salem. He embarked at Gravesend on April 25, 1629, in the *Talbot* with about a hundred other passengers. 'And when they came to the Land's End,' writes Cotton Mather, 'Mr. Higginson calling up his children and other passengers unto the stern of the ship to take their last sight of England, he said "We will not say as the Separatists did, "Farewell Babylon! Farewell Rome! But we will say, Farewell, Dear England! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England; but we go to practice the positive part of church reformation and propagate the gospel in America."'

Separating from the corruptions of the Church, and practicing the positive part of Church reformation meant, in puritan parlance, discarding the Book of Common Prayer, ignoring the canons of the Church, and putting worship on a basis of the primitive, apostolic Church. The Company should have known that they were in for this when they engaged non-conformist ministers like Higginson and Skelton. The instructions of April 17, 1629, to Endecott, left such matters to the two parsons, 'hoping they will make God's word the rule of their actions' -- in effect a blank check. Yet the Company 'was somewhat embarrassed by their organizing of the First Church in Salem on the separatist or congregational model, within a month of their arrival. In July and August there were three simple but important ceremonies that accomplished this practical break with the Church of England. **About thirty heads of families**, having formed a church covenant, spent the morning of July 20 in prayer and preaching, and in the afternoon elected Higginson and Skelton their teacher and pastor by ballot, the ministers having admitted that they had no right to officiate as such without an "outward calling" from the faithful. About a week later occurred an even more significant ceremony -- ordination by laymen. 'Mr. Higginson with three or four of the gravest members of

the church laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayer therewith. This being done, there was imposission of hands on Mr. Higginson also.' On Thursday, August 6, the elders and deacons were chosen and ordained. Governor Bradford and Elder Brewster of Plymouth Colony, hindered by head winds, arrived just too late for the ceremony, but in time to give the 'right hand of fellowship' to the brethren, and, let us hope, to enjoy what was left of the beer, the aquavity, the strong waters, and the Madeira.

It has puzzled many to find that Higginson, after protesting his loyalty and affection for mother church, should have adopted the Congregational polity and joined fellowship with the Plymouth separatists. For he had accepted from the Salem Saints a form of ordination that implicitly denied the validity of holy orders in the Church of England, and joined a covenant which excluded from the sacraments any communicants of the Church of England who were not agreeable to the First Church of Christ in Salem. It clears up matters somewhat to find that **Samuel Fuller, the Plymouth physician**, summoned to Salem in order to cure an outbreak of the scurvy, had applied propaganda with his pills. His long talks with Endecott and others had convinced them, before Higginson arrived, that the Pilgrims' way was the way of Christ: that Congregationalism was the only church government authorized by Holy Writ. At least so Governor Endecott stated in a letter to Governor Bradford. This was a good deal for Endecott to admit, for the vast majority of English puritans, knowing little of Separatists except stories of their brawls and contentions in Holland, regarded them as disparate radicals and fanatics. Such Separatists as had not left England twenty years before had, as it were, gone underground; and there were in 1629 not more than half a dozen English Separatist Congregational churches in existence. Still it would seem that something more than the persuasive Pilgrim doctor would be required to make men like Higginson and Skelton split altogether from the liturgy and polity of the Church of England. Robert Baillie, a hostile but well-informed Scots critic of the New England church discipline, probably came as near the truth as we shall ever get, when he wrote that the "[Congregational] way of New-Plymouth held out so much liberty and honor to the people, that made it very suitable and lovely to a multitude who had stepped out of the Episcopal thraldom in England, to the free air of a new World."

SEPARATISTS and CONGREGATIONALISTS

There, I think, we have the secret of why not only the Salem people, but all the early churches of Massachusetts Bay, chose the Separatist form of worship and the Congregational polity. It was another case of what has occurred often in social and political institutions: the "free air of a new world" liberating repressed desires and energies, rendering explicit in America what was implicit in England. One aspect of puritanism was the revolt of the laity from priestly control: desire for self-expression, to have a share in running the Church. In the old country, puritans had to compromise with the law, with tradition, with the terms of pious foundations, with their bishops, their pastors, and their neighbors. The touch of New England soil cast these shackles from them.

The thirty members who signed the church covenant and elected Higginson and Skelton must have represented the majority of the two hundred or so people then in Salem, for 100 had already left to settle Charlestown. A minority clung to the ancient forms. John and Samuel Browne, the one a lawyer and the other a merchant, were two of the most important settlers, freemen of the Corporation, and as such appointed by the Company to Governor Endecott's council. They gathered a company of the discontented to read service out of the Book of Common Prayer. There was an open dispute, of the Governor's seeking, between them and the ministers; the Brownes asserting and they denying that the new church was separatist. Endecott ended the debate in characteristic fashion by informing the Brownes that 'New England was no place for such as they,' and shipping them home to England.

This high-handed action of Endecott was disturbing to the Company, and painful to John White. Not only had their endeavors to prevent Separatism been practically thwarted; but news of the fact, should the English authorities get wind of it, might deprive them of their precious charter. Fortunately the Brownes consented to keep quiet when compensated for their loss. The Company cautioned rather than rebuked Endecott against these rash innovations, which became cornerstones of the ecclesiastical state founded the next year by Winthrop.

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The clergy members who signed the church covenant and elected Higginson and Skelton mutual elders represented the majority of the two hundred or so people then in Salem, for 100 had already left to settle Dorchester. A minority clung to the ancient forms. John and Samuel Browne, the one a lawyer and the other a merchant, were two of the most important citizens, freemen of the Corporation, and as such appointed by the Company to Governor Endicott's council. They protested a company of the discontented to meet secretly out of the sacs of Common Prayer. There was an open dispute, of the Governor's assisting, between them and his ministers, the Brownes assenting and they claiming that the new church was schismatic. Endicott ended the dispute in characteristic fashion by informing the Brownes that New England was no place for such as they, and shipping them home to England.

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Barney White--Concluded

1862, 20 Dec	Birth of daughter Lois G. White in Grant Co. WI
1864, 02 Mar	" son, Orin G. White (date may be wrong--tombstone says 1863).
1864-5	Oldest son, John Wesley White served in Civil War, probably 2nd Div, Cavalry, enlisting at Lancaster WI. I'm not sure when he received training as a minister, but he was ordained before 1867.
1866, 17 Sep	Birth of daughter, Martha A. White, in Iowa (Boone Co.?)
1867, 16 Sep	Marriage of oldest son, Rev. John Wesley White to a member of his congregation, Miss Sarah Jane Averill, in Pilot Mound Township, Boone Co., IA. Jane was born 18 Oct 1849 in McDonough Co. IL. Her parents were Norman Chancellor Averill b. 1815 in Switzerland Co IN and Martha E.(Clayton) Averill b. 1822 in Washington Co Virginia. A lovely religious ceremony was held at the home of the bride. In attendance were Barney and Maria White.
1868, Spring	A large group migrated to Miami County, Kansas, to homestead. The Averills, the Husseys, and evidently others went along. Barney and Maria and the children went later, after the baby came.
1868 21 Aug	Birth of daughter, Hannah G. White in Iowa
1869 01 Jan	Oldest grandchild, William Wesley White (my grandpa) was a New Year's baby, born in Lane, KS. (Births of other grandchildren will not be listed here.)
1870	US census, Osawatomie, Miami Co KS, shows Barney White and family next door to their son John Wesley with wife and baby son.
1870 26 Aug	Birth of daughter, Emma M. White in Lane, KS
1873 20 Jul	" " Jennie Mae White in WI (Grant Co?)
1876	" son, Andrew M. White in Crawford Co WI, Tn of Scott
1878	" son Charles B. White " "
1880	US Census, Town of Scott, Crawford Co WI shows the family and various Hughbanks families living close by. Incorrectly states all of the children born in WI.
1880 19 Sep	Birth of youngest child, Wilbur White, Town of Scott
1890	Federal census destroyed. However, the family thrived during this time frame. Daughter Lois and probably Emma taught school in the little "White School House" before they were married. Orin married and had a little son before becoming a widower in 1887--he did not remarry but seems to have become a successful stone mason. Data about marriages is on a separate family group sheet. I will only add that the spouses of the children who married were from very nice families. Church weddings.
1895	State Census shows the name of head of household only. Two sons and two daughters were still living at home.
1897 Aug	Death of Sarah Jane, wife of Rev. John Wesley White, of TB in Albany, Gentry Co. MO. She left behind nine children still living. The youngest daughter was 7.
1899 08 May	Wife Maria White died. Diagnosis was chronic gastritis. She had been acutely ill for three weeks.
1899 11 May	Barney himself died after attending his wife's funeral. Cause of death was given as "pneumonia and la grippe," He had been ill for six weeks.
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All three are buried in the cemetery at Mt. Zion Methodist Church.

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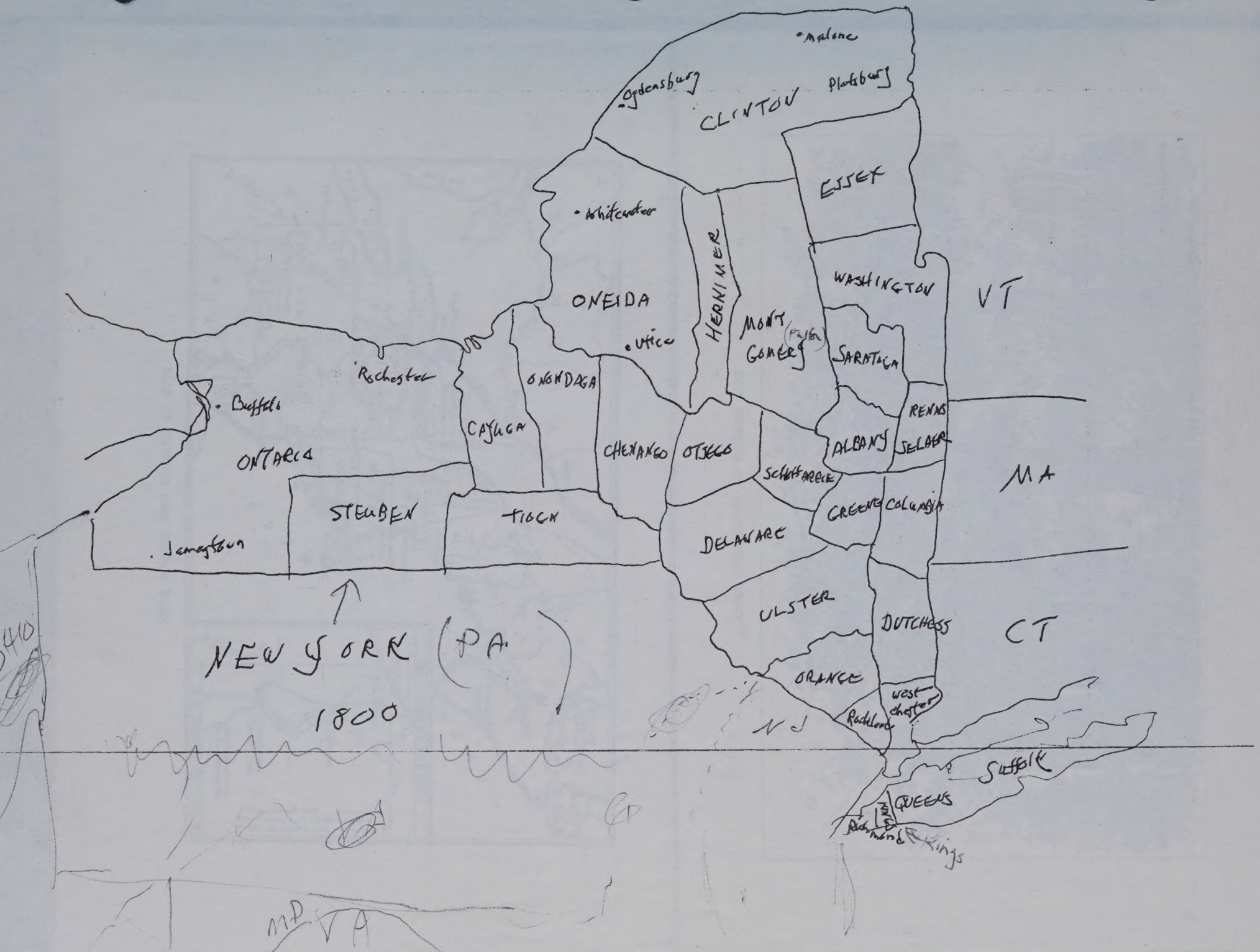
Experts, which I am not, will tell you that early Virginia research is very difficult because (1) county boundaries changed with bewildering frequency (2) so many records have not survived, partly due to courthouse fires (3) residents were often just as confused--our James Vest's Buckingham land purchase was recorded in Albemarle. The small map below is too early but helps one visualize

October 1796 - Madison Co Ky
Order Book

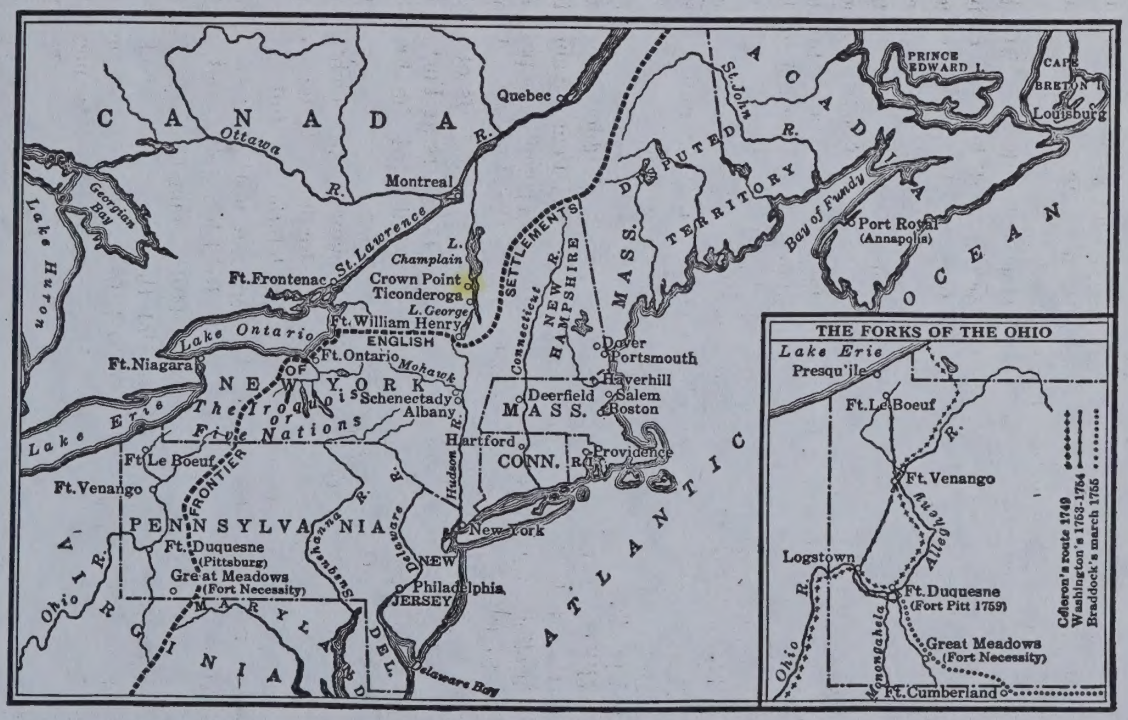
The ~~Reverend~~ Reverend Samuel Griffith (Cong)
the Court gave permission to right to
that remony.

Francis ASBURY had come
Madison Court House to preach
9 May 1790 first time, then other
Ky towns. He had come from the Wilderness
Trail and the Cumberland Gap; then over
a narrow Indian trail.

Back to Kentucky March 1792 + April
April 10 1793
April + May 1793
1796 (I did not copy later
Madison Co Ky Court Order Book October 1796
The Reverend Samuel Griffith B O


Malone
Ogdensburg
Plattsburg
CLINTON
ESSEX
Whitestown
HERKIMER
ONEIDA
Utica
MONTGOMERY
WASHINGTON
VT
SARATOGA
Rochester
Buffalo
ONONDAGA
CAYUGA
RENSS
ALBANY
SCHENECTADY
ONTARIO
CHENANGO
OTSEGO
MA
STEUBEN
TIOGA
GREENE
COLUMBIA
Jamestown
DELAWARE
ULSTER
DUTCHESS
CT
NEW YORK (PA.)
1800
ORANGE
Rockland
Westchester
NJ
Suffolk
QUEENS
Richmond
Kings
MD
VA

THE AMBUSH OF BRADDOCK'S ARMY



MAP OF FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS